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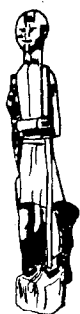
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the kuswar of chaithali (central nepal)

Corneille Jest

Sarkiman has been our travelling companion for more than ten years. He is a native of Temal, an important village cluster, located in the district of Kavre-Palanchok, two days walk east of Kathmandu. Many of our porters are recruited from Temal, a majority of them Tamangs.

Even though he has always passed himself off as a Tamang and moreover speaks that language perfectly, we were not ignorant of the fact that Sarkiman is a Kuswar, a member of the caste of fishermen.

It was a song that prompted us to write this note. We were in Tukuche in Thak Khola at the foot of Dauligiri after having completed a day's work with Mangal Singh, a lama and doctor and were sitting in a place reserved for us. Santa Bir Tamang was making the tea, with no idea of how much to put in, too much sugar or not enough tea. Sarkiman sang softly to himself. The song was not altogether Nepali and rather resembled a religious song or lament.

"We sing this song to call together the souls of those who have died during the year... It is the song of the pitr ritual," he told me.

It was then I remembered a place where we had been together in 1967, on the day of Dasain. It was near the ferry at Luphu, at the confluence at the Sun Kosi and the Rosi Khola, southeast of Kathmandu. Upon reaching Temal we would have to climb up into the Mahabharat Range, to the south of Temal Danda in order to find the settlements of the Hayu. When we reached the confluence of these two rivers, we stopped to eat at the house of a Tamang Lama who lived near his rice fields in the area during the winter months. The Lama had a text in his house which concerned the history of some local clans. Interested in those documents and assured that our destination was only a mere three hours walk away, I decided to return there with Ngawang Samten Sherpa.

The Kuswar of Lophughat had to return us across the Sun Kosi very quickly, since they were in a great hurry. "We must make a sacrifice, a puja". We stopped in their small village and witnessed a dance which dramatized the battle between Rama and the demon Rahu. Intrigued, I questioned Sarkiman about this for a long time.



Since that time we have made many trips to Chai-thali, the village of the dance and the village of Sarkiman's ancestors. The first questions led to other questions and Sarkiman has begun to take his own notes, in particular those concerning his own trips through the middle hills. He had gone to many ceremonies and so wished to observe the ghat puja at Dababaghat which took place in 1976, but he was driven out by the local Kuswar who said that any stranger, even if he is the King himself, cannot come to this puja. Sarkiman succeeded in gaining admission in spite of this, by demonstrating his relation to the ancestral line of the Kuswar of Rajatar.

The ethnographic data below has been taken essentially from areas to the east and southeast of the Kathmandu valley. K. Rimal, who has often worked in ethnological research with G. Toffin (CNRS), was associated with us in this project. He has worked with Sarkiman on the analysis of a number of local customs and has translated the most important elements of the ceremonial songs of the Kuswar (c.f. Appendix 1.).

Sarkiman was born in 1943, in Temal. His father died in 1975. His maternal grandfather, founder of the Kuswar village of Chaithali, had bought a plot of land in Temal, a half-day's walk toward the summit of Temal Danda. Sarkiman's father was born there and married a girl from Chaithali. Sarkiman built a new house there in 1974.

What are the origins of the Kuswar? Here are two accounts which Sarkiman heard from his father:

The Kuswar are the descendants of Ram and Sita. Sita brought a son, Laba, into the world. One day, while she was busy washing her clothes at the spring, she saw monkey nursing and fondling her young. Sita thought, "I've come to the spring and left my own baby by himself". She immediately returned to her house and picked up her child and brought him back to the spring. Her servants, an old man and woman who had been left in charge of the child were gone momentarily and on coming back discovered that the cradle was empty: What will happen if Sita finds out? The old man made an effigy out of type of grass called kus² tied with string and put it into the cradle. Both then called out to the gods. The effigy came to life and began to cry. When she returned, Sita saw the infant and demanded an

The dance of Ram at Lophughat on the Sun Kosi during Dasain of 1967: The army of the monkeys.

explanation. The servant explained that he thought Laba had been kidnapped. "I replaced him with an effigy made out of kus grass and asked the gods to give him life..."

Thus, Sita nursed both infants and the child "born of the grass" was called Kus and was considered to be the twin brother of Laba. Laba became a scholar, while Kus continued to live in the forest and became the ancestor of the Kuswar³.

The second account relates to the existence of a Kuswar King:

The Kuswar had their own King for a long time who lived at Rajagaun on the Tama Kosi. His elephant used to be tied to a large iron post in the village, which can still be seen today. The Kuswar owned all the rice fields in the valley bottom, but they were dispossessed by the more powerful castes which came from the West.

In this area, the Kuswar are known as majhi which includes the Danuwar, as well as all fishermen and those who are in charge of the ferries (ghat), including Newars of the Pode caste, as well as Brahmans, Sarkis and Damais, members of Nepali castes for whom this is a secondary occupation⁴. Several other publications have signalled the presence of the majhi, but none have precisely mentioned which group is being discussed. We shall return to this point again further along in this paper.

In the course of various journeys throughout central Nepal, we have tried to make an effort to locate the permanent settlements of the Kuswar and Danuwar. These settlements have always been found to be located along a river, up to an altitude of around 1,000 m. (since at higher altitudes bridges tend to replace ferries).

A number of the settlements of the Danuwar and Kuswar are located along the Indrawati, the Bhote Kosi, the Sun Kosi and the Tama Kosi rivers⁵.

The Kuswar 5

River	Village Name	Ghat Name	Ethnic group
Bhote Kosi	Bainse (near Balepi)		Kuswar
Bhote Kosi	Satimure	Kirabote	Kuswar
Jhiu Khola	Jhiu Khola (below Tinpipal)		Danuwar
Indrawati	Bewatar	Sipaghat	Kuswar / Danuwar
Indrawati	Jyarighat		Kuswar
Sun Kosi	Naule	Dolalghat	Kuswar
Sun Kosi	Apghat Kolati	Apghat	Kuswar
Sun Kosi	Khare	Khareghat	Kuswar
Sun Kosi	Khare	Khareghat	Kuswar
Sun Kosi	Chaithali (West)	Patswarghat	Kuswar
Sun Kosi	Patswargaun (East)	Patswarghat	Kuswar
Sun Kosi	Jakari	Jakarighat	Kuswar
Sun Kosi	Garboth		Kuswar
Sun Kosi	Doreni		Kuswar
Sun Kosi	Luphu	Luphughat	Kuswar
Sun Kosi	Kotape	Kotapeghat	Kuswar
Sun Kosi	Jajuli	Kareghat	Kuswar
Sun Kosi	Mulkot	Dobagaghat	Kuswar
Sun Kosi	Mulkot	Sitkaghat	Kuswar
Sun Kosi	Pujeghat	pujeghat	Kuswar / Danuwar
Tama Kosi	Orare	Benighat	Kuswar / Danuwar
Tama Kosi	Rajagaun	Benighat	Kuswar / Danuwar
Tama Kosi	Batauli	Benighat	Kuswar / Danuwar
Tama Kosi	Mungitar	Benighat	Kuswar / Danuwar
Tama Kosi	Mantalitar	Mantalighat	Kuswar / Danuwar
Tama Kosi	Sukajor	Mantalighat	Kuswar / Danuwar
Tama Kosi	Karambot	Chisapanighat	Kuswar / Danuwar
Tama Kosi	Chisapani	Chisapanighat	Kuswar
Tama Kosi	Gorbari	Chisapanighat	Kuswar
Tama Kosi	Gaikura	Chisapanighat	Kuswar
Tama Kosi	Melungpari	Chaiteghat	Kuswar

In the following, we will place major emphasis on the Kuswar group. The Kuswar are Nepali speakers, but some of their expressions are the same as those heard in the eastern Tarai, as well as in Bihar. They live in settlements of their own, and their holdings are, as the saying goes, "both sides of the river for three kos and up to the place where the clouds begin" (wari tin kos pari tin kos goga bari, kuiro ko kath).

The Kuswar village of Chaithali consists of sixteen houses and lies at an altitude of 700 m, two-hundred meters above the valley bottom of the Sun Kosi. In addition to the Kuswar, the immediate area has several Newars engaged in commerce, some Tamangs and two Brahmin families. The Kuswar houses are clustered around forage trees and Euphorbes. A small Mahadev temple dominates the village landscape. The ninety

inhabitants of the village fall into three groups of houses (tol): mijhar tol, gaurung tol, and sakule tol. The inhabitants of mijhar tol came from the village of Patswar, while those living in gaurung tol come from Bewatar near the Sipaghat ferry.

Chaithali was founded by a man from Patswar who had three sons. Two of the sons settled in Patswar on the left bank of the river, the third came to live in Chaithali. For every eighteen days, the two Patswar brothers ran the ferry for twelve, while the brother in Chaithali ran it for six, using two boats. When making a new boat, twelve men from Patswar and six from Chaithali still participate in the work.

The head of the Kuswar community is called the mijhar⁶, who is responsible for collecting taxes and settling disputes within the group. The position can be hereditary. The mijhar is assisted in his work by the gaurung. Together they organize the shradda ceremonies held at Dassain and the dances which accompany it. They are also connected with the collection of the fees for use of the ferries.

The village head at one time had a document (lal mohar) which fixed the regulations for the operation of the ferry, but this document disappeared several years ago. The paper was supposed to have specified the duties of the boatmen of Chaithali saying that the ferry should make at least one round trip journey per day, even if there were no passengers. Also, each year a tax, payable in fish, was to be sent to the palace of the King.

The houses of the Kuswar are different from those of the neighbouring populations, and are built on a rectangular plan, covering about eighteen square meters. There is a second floor (above the ground floor), and the house has a two-sided thatched roof. The ground floor serves as a stable for cattle and goats, as well as for storage of agricultural implements. A ladder permits access to the storey above, where a partition divides the living area into two parts, with a fireplace and iron tripod (or three stones) in one of them.

A household inventory can be made quite easily: cooking utensils (aluminum pots), water containers, several straw mats, baskets and winnowing trays are the essential elements. A porch roof, built level with

the upper story, shelters the main facade and the place where the rice husker is installed. A storage area is erected on pilings along the side of the house and here animal fodder and wicker grain bins are kept.

Until 1967, the maintenance of the ferry service was the primary activity of the Kuswar in Chaithali. Since that time, however, a bridge has been installed over the Sun Kosi and the inhabitants had to find other occupations, some leaving for India and Bhutan to find employment while others went to work as porters out of Kathmandu.

The ferry was serviced by a boat (dunga) which was used only rarely for fishing. The single hulled boat is dug out of the trunk of the simal tree (Bombax malabaricum) which grows in the tropical zone (cut in the months on Mangsir or Chait). A single trunk can measure from 6 to 8 meters in length and can transport twelve people. The finished boat is maneuvered with an oar, with the boatman seated in the stern.

The ghat is located at a place where the current of the river is weak. After launching, the boatman paddles the boat a bit upstream, then allows the boat to drift back, using the force of the current to help him reach the other shore.

The boatman's occupation is closely connected with that of the fisherman. The techniques and tackle used in fishing differs according to seasonal variation in the volume of the river and the state of the water. Generally, the during monsoon river has nearly ten times the volume of the dry season. The following is a calendar of fishing techniques.

<u>Month</u>	<u>State of the water</u>	<u>Volume of water</u>	<u>Type of fish caught</u>	<u>Techniques</u>
Baisakh (April-May)	<u>Sanglo Pani</u> descent of fish melting of snows.	shallow	<u>asala</u> <u>sidhare</u>	<u>balsi</u> <u>kunga</u>
Jeth (May-June)	<u>damilo pani</u> muddy waters	mid-range	<u>gounch</u> <u>share</u> <u>katle</u>	<u>balsi</u> <u>tehari</u> <u>kunga</u>
Asar (June-July)	high, muddy waters	high, strong current	<u>kahre</u>	<u>jat-goleng</u> (epuisette)

Shrawan (July-Aug)	same	same	same	<u>goleng</u>
Bhadau	same	same	<u>sahare</u>	same
Asoj (Sept-Oct)	same	same	<u>sidhare</u> <u>palanga</u>	<u>jal</u>
Kartik (Oct-Nov)	<u>sanglo pani</u> receeding, clear water	shallow	<u>asala</u> <u>sahale</u>	<u>tehari</u> <u>balsi</u> <u>kunga</u>
Mangsir (Nov-Dec)	same	same	<u>asala</u> <u>sahare</u> <u>sidhari</u>	<u>tehari</u> <u>kunga</u>
Poush (Dec-January)	same	same	same	same
Magh (Jan-Feb)	same	same	same	<u>gond</u> <u>cheta</u>
Phagun (Feb-March)	fish swim up- stream	same	same	<u>tehari</u> <u>balsi</u>
Chait (March-April)	same	same	<u>asala</u> <u>sidhare</u>	same

During the monsoon period (from June through September) when the waters are muddy, fishing is done during the daylight hours. Around the month of November, when the waters have receded and clear, the Kuswar fish at night, using a sweep-net (épervier: French) between 7 P.M. and 4 A.M. The fishermen build small huts out of grass and bamboo on a base of stones in the summer riverbed. This form of fishing is practiced from Kartik until Chait. In Phalgun, when the fish begin to swim upstream, the catch is quite good. The other good fishing period occurs in Baisak and Jeth, when the fish again return downstream, when the melting snows appreciably lower the temperature of the waters.

In autumn, the Kuswar build dams on an arm of the course of the river and introduce a fish poison, made from the pulverized flesh of a creeper (dudelahara, Hedyotis scandens) into the water. The asphixiated fish come to the surface and are scooped up into baskets⁷.

The types of fishing tackle are essentially limited. Fishing nets are made from nettle fiber, fashioned with the use of a netting needle. The leaves of the agave are also used and are boiled with ashes and woven after they dry⁸. The tehari is a rectangular net with a large mesh which is stretched from one bank of the river to the other. The jal (épervier) has a conical shape and is fitted with weights made of lead or small pieces of iron. The net has a length of about 120 cm. and is cast in such a way as to spread it out in a circle over the surface of the water, where it is drawn to the bottom by its lead weights. The takauli (épuisette) is a conical net mounted on an oval-shaped wooden frame. It is used by women and children. The large épuisette (goleng) has a frame with a diameter of 100 c.m. to which is fixed a conical net, with a handle four meters long.

Fish traps (kunga) are fashioned out of bamboo in the shape of a cone. In this type of fishing, an arm of the main river flow is blocked and the fish are forced to swim through passages which lead to the traps. Some fish traps of generally the same form (dharya) contain numerous small bamboo points which keep the fish from escaping once they enter the trap.

The Kuswar fish with a line from Kartik to Chait. A reed pole, fourteen to fifteen "cubits" in length is used with a nylon line and a fishhook (balsi) at the end.

Fish traps called garuwa are built in the bed of the Tamba Kosi. Small fish can go through the trap, but the Kuswar feed these small fish with cow-dung and a little beer malt. In five or six months the fish attain a respectable size and are too big to get through the traps, allowing them to be captured.

The following species of fish are caught:

<u>asala</u>	<u>Oreinus richardsonii</u> ⁹
<u>sidhare</u>	
<u>sahar</u>	<u>Barbus puttitora</u>
<u>kathej</u> (<u>katla</u>)	<u>Catla catla</u>
<u>gonch</u>	

The fish in the Chaithali region (Dolaghat) are dried and lightly smoked. They are then sold to a middleman (most often a Newar), who takes it to Kathmandu.

The inhabitants of Chaithali, like all the groups of Kuswar along the Sun Kosi have certain rice fields "given in kipat by the King of Nepal". For the most part, their lands consist of unirrigated fields (bari)¹⁰. It is curious to note, however, that Kuswar fields most often resemble gardens where crops are quite diversified: corn, sorghum, millet, eleusine, sugar cane, numerous cucumbers, beans and lentils, mustard, fruit trees such as bananas and oranges as well as flowers. Tobacco (surti) is cultivated in appreciable quantities and part of that produce is sold. Animal husbandry is of little importance; only buffaloes, Nepali cattle and a few goats and pigs are kept.

Social Organization

Kuswar society is made up of several clans (thar), Mama Gaurung of Chaithali sets the number at ten, but could only remember nine of them.

<u>Clan</u>	<u>Location</u>
Khas Kuswar	
Dudh Kuswar	
Kumal	Buri Gandaki, Tama Kosi (Karombot)
Tharu Kuswar	Madesh
Barha Kuswar	Madesh
Bandar Kuswar	Madesh
Chutie Kuswar	Madesh
Rajbanshi Kuswar	Naulegaun - Indrawati
Botel Kuswar	

The Kuswar marry within their group and in the same line (exchange marriage) though there must be a separation of seven generations between ancestors, if a productive union takes place violating this seven generation principle, the violators are expelled from the community and are called kaccar ("bastards") or Kami (literally metalworkers, but in this case taken in the sense of outcaste).

Sarkiman described the following as the pattern of marriage for his group:

The proposal of marriage is made by the father of the boy, the girl is presented to the family generally when she is very young. At the presentation, the girl is accompanied with a gift of six pathi of beer, a chicken and 300 little cakes. The proposal must often be made two or three times before getting a positive response! From the

moment the marriage is fixed, the fiance goes to the house of the girl with his relatives and friends where they are given a feast. The next day, the girl is carried to the house of the bridegroom by her maternal uncle¹¹. The following items are laid out in the house: leaves from the bar - pipal, a vessel filled with water, a lit lamp, a container made of sal leaves carrying some sesame, rice and wheat grains, some dubo grass, some pālungā leaves, a fish, a container of curdled milk fastened to a stalk of sugar cane, a copper vessel, a copper coin, some vermillion powder, all arranged along a geometric figure (rekhi) drawn with rice flour¹².

They build a fire out of pinewood on the figure and light it and into the fire, toss the rice, wheat and sesame grains. Afterwards, they stretch a strip of white cotton cloth across the whole thing and anchor it to both sides of the figure. The white cotton symbolizes the river (kosi). The couple sits on one side of the "river", while a group of men representing the ferrymen sit on the other.

The couple say: "Come with your boat, come quickly".
The boat men reply: "Why should we do this, we only do official work"

Couple: "We want to cross the river".
Boatmen: "What will you give us if we help you?"
Couple: "We will give you "pasang - pusung".
Boatmen: "Give us "pasang - pusung" and we won't help you".

This exchange goes on three more times.
Boatmen: "What will you give?"
Couple: "We will give you a gold coin (sunko, thunko)"

Boatmen: "We accept".

The cotton strip is then removed and a village elder gives the small fish and the curdled milk to the couple. Then the groom throws some vermillion on the bride. This act consecrates the union.

Later that day, everyone returns to the bride's house and offer the following to the bride's mother: some beer, a chicken, 100 small cakes, twenty coins and a petticoat. The maternal uncle is also given three pathi of beer, a chicken and 100 small cakes. Damai (the tailor's caste) musicians accompany the cortege throughout the entire ceremony¹³.

As we have already said, marriage is practiced at a very early age among the Kuswar. Often the boy is only 12 or 13 years old. Marriages take place during the months of Mangsir, Magh, Phagun and Baisakh.

Religious Beliefs.

Because the solar calendar is used for daily life and the lunar calendar is used for ceremonies, festivals may not necessarily fall in the month listed below. The key is the lunar phases.

The Kuswar are "Hindu" and observe a number of festivals similar to those of the high Nepali Castes. Sarkiman here contrasts the differences between the Kuswar celebrations and those of these Nepali castes:

<u>Month of Nepali Calendar</u>	<u>Day of Lunar Month</u>	<u>Kuswar</u>	<u>Nepali Castes</u>
Baisakh	New moon Full Moon	Mātāthirtha Bagwati <u>puja</u> (at Palanchok)	Mātāthirtha Bagwati <u>puja</u>
Jeth	Full moon		goth <u>puja</u> offerings to Mahadev, Gaura, Parvati, for the protection of livestock
Asar	Full moon	ghat <u>puja</u> , offerings at the bank of the river	
Shrawan	Full moon	<u>puja</u> at the Narayan temple (offerings of flowers and milk)	Janaipurnima, replacement of the sacred thread.
Bhadau	(c.f. above-according to the lunar calendar).		

Asoj	10th day of the new moon	Dasain-Shraddha ceremonial songs	Dasain
Kartik	Full moon (six days after <u>tika</u>) (Twenty-two days after <u>tika</u>)	Repair of roads Tihar Bhaitika	Tihar
Mangsir	Full moon 5th day after full moon	Offerings of lamps at Devi temple Pilgrimage to Daneswar-Mahadev	Offering to Devi
Poush	Full moon	Pilgrimage to Sailung Lamps offered to Mahadev	Pilgrimage to Sailung
Magh	Sankranti	Community feast	Ritual bathing for purification from the full moon of Poush to the full moon of Magh women's ritual - Swasthani.
Phagun		Ram Navmi ceremonial meal	
Chait	8th Day after full	Chait Dasain - family meal	Dasain - large feast

For the Kuswar, the most important religious festival is ghat puja, the ceremony which ensures the ferry. The boats of Chaithali and Patswar, however, have been taken out to dry since the suspension bridge across the Sun Kosi was built in 1967. Therefore this puja is no longer practiced in these two villages. Sarkiman, who had seen it, described it as follows.

The puja took place on the night of the day of the full moon in the month of Baisak, Jeth or Asar. All the villagers gathered at the ferry, where the mijhar of Patswar made an offering on the prow of a boat consisting of rice, vermillion, flowers and rice-cakes. This was followed by the sacrifice of a rooster, a goat and a pig; cutting the head off of each in turn and spilling the blood on both the boat and the riverbank. The pig, purchased by the whole community, was then divided into equal shares and distributed to the families of the village. The head of the pig was then taken to Patswar and placed in the house of the mijhar. The next day,

the head of the pig was placed on a pole for one day then the pole was taken out and in the hole one put an egg then the hole was covered with a slab. The following year at the same ceremony, the hole was uncovered for the next puja. If one found the egg to be cracked, the year which follows would be a bad one.

Sarkiman was travelling in the middle valley of the Sun Kosi in February of 1976, when he abserved ghat puja being held in Dobagaghat on the 12th of Phagun.

The ferryboats were brought up onto the bank. The mijhar drew a geometric figure with flour on the pro of the boat and laid out rice, vermillion and flowers. Three altars are built nearby: the first is built out of five dressed stones and some gayo branches ornamented with totola flowers. This is the altar of Jala Devi, the goddess of the rivers¹⁵. A stone forms the altar for the divinty, Shikari¹⁶. A stone next to the river is for the divinty, Devi. Each house sacrifices a rooster to Jala Devi, after which the mijhar sacrifices a pig and deposits an egg on the altar. Then a rooster is sacrificed to Shikari and a pigeon to Devi. Only the men who help in the sacrifice cook the rice alongside of the river, and eat it and afterwards return to the house of the mijhar.

The next day, the mijhar makes a new series of offerings. Then, everybody in the community gathers to attend a comic performance where a man disguised as an Indian from the plains is successively stripped of all his goods by two robbers. In the evening, men and women dance in front of the mijhar's house.

Chhyama (kshama) puja¹⁷ has replaced ghat puja as the most important religious period for the Kuswar of Chaithali. Chhyama puja takes place in the full moon of Baisakh or Jeth (Baisakh-purni). Five days before the ceremony, a man is put in charge of collecting two mana of coarse maize flour, chakla and a half mana of rice from each household in the village. On the eve of the full moon, at night, close to the river in the west, at a place where the trails cross, the mijhar cuts off a goat's head and sets out some rice, a flower, a coin, some vermillion and an areca nut as well as the head of the goat just sacrificed and the blood which has been caught in a leaf bowl. Then the villagers eat the meat of the goat. In the middle of the night, they then offer rice beer to Bhume (the local earth diety).

The morning of the day of the full moon, the villagers gather at the Devi temple, where two goats are sacrificed. They offer rice, once again, and the leaves of the lalpati. At noon, they make a sacrifice to Bhume: a goat, some eggs, some maize beer, some rice cakes, totola flowers. The internal organs of the goat are then cooked and eaten by those who have helped in the sacrifice. Those who are in charge of the ritual, the mijhar, the gaurung, as well as two aides have their meal and the meat is divided into equal parts.

The day after the full moon, the villagers again gather at the house of the mijhar carrying pottery vessels filled with beer. To the mijhar and gaurung go the heads of the two sacrificed goats.

Niyam puja (local: nim) offering to the Kuldeveta (ancestral divinities) are made on the ninth day (navami) of the month of Asoj or Kartik, at the time of Dasain, if there hasn't been a death in the family during the preceding year. It is the head of the household or his eldest son who makes this sacrifice. He builds an altar in the corner of the house on the first floor (the floor above the ground floor). Seven tools are utilized for this ceremony: a hoe, a large-bladed hoe, an axe, two khukri, a pair of firetongs and a sickle which are placed against the wall and encircled with stalks of artemesia (tithepati). Then the following is laid out: saipatri flowers, seven small rice cakes (naibedya), seven cakes made of clay (mato ko roti), seven cakes made of ashes (kharani ko roti), seven oil lamps, seven pieces of silver (beti) and seven handfuls of rice. He makes a geometric figure with seven divisions out of rice flour and places in each division an element of each offering. A rooster is sacrificed, then six others and a head is placed in each of the seven divisions. He then cuts the throat of a young male goat and the head is put in with the heads of the roosters.

A gunshot gives the signal for the beginning of the puja; the head of the household, alone, proceeds to sacrifice the animals. It is forbidden for anybody else to help him.



Members of the family light pine fires to guide the pitr and Bote to the house where the ceremony will take place.

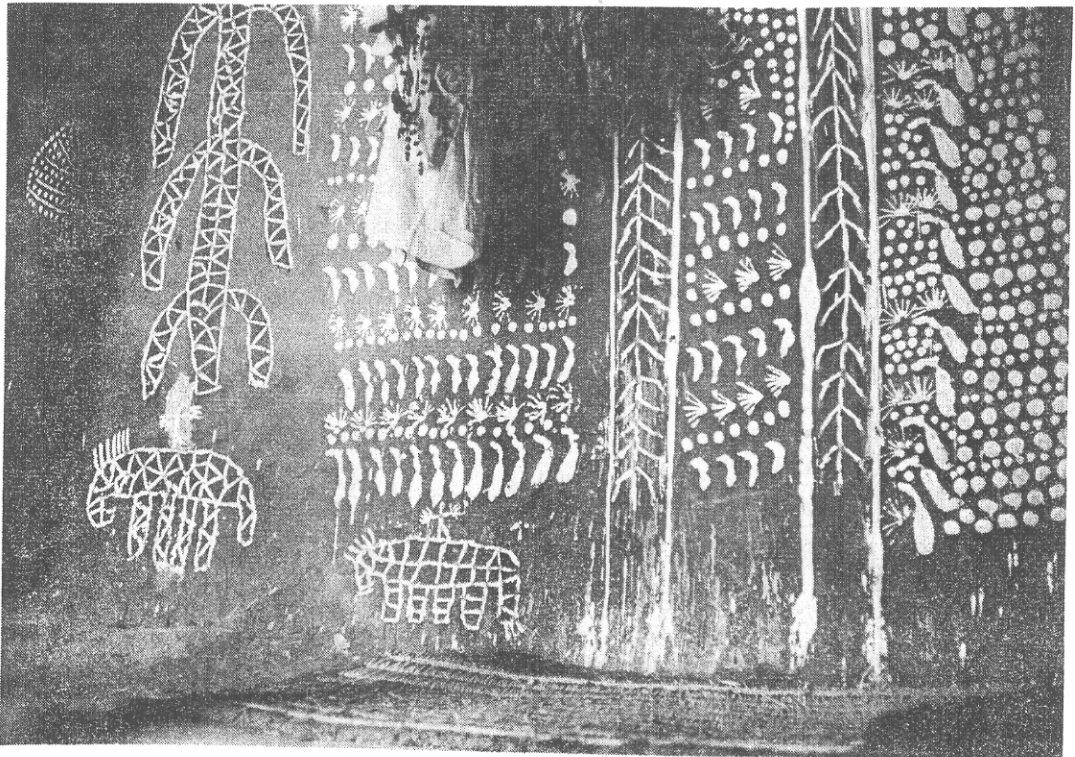
A particular devotion is made to the souls of the dead (pitr)¹⁸ who must return among the living in the year following their death, at the time of Dasain. It is in this period, for four days, that one does a set of rituals called shraddha (local: sarat). We attended the ceremony at Chaithali in 1969, what follows is a resume of the principle phases:

Astami: (18 October, 1969) preparations; production of the ceremonial beer.

Navami: (19 October, 1969) for families not mourning a death in the previous year, offerings given to ancestral divinities (niyam puja - see above).

Tika: (20 October, 1969) father places tika on the foreheads of his children and infants, preparations made for shraddha ceremony in families where there has been a death in the previous year. Men prepare the two ceremonial drums (dhol) with two laced skins¹⁹. Women prepare beer from rice and millet (kodo). When night falls, four groups of men go out, each group in one of the four cardinal directions to call the soul of the dead, the pitr²⁰. Each carries a leaf plate, with offerings of beaten

rice and bananas. Then relatives, allies and friends enter the house of the dead, the two drums beating without stopping, those present sing. A woman draws a number of motifs on the wall opposite the entrance of the house, which represent the milieu in which the deceased lived and his possessions; the horizontal and vertical lines represent the house, circles, dots, an elephant, silver coins, a water pipe, a pipal tree, a horse and a dog are also represented. The soul of the dead (pitr) must take possession of a woman in the gathering and must then be questioned by an elder in the group (one never knows who the pitr will speak through when it comes, but there are three women in Chaithali who have already been possessed and the possession seems to revolve around them). The pitr did not come that night.



The ceremony of the pitr: The wall opposite the entrance of the house is painted with representations of the pitr's belongings: left to right a tree, an elephant, money, chilims (smoking pipes), a house and the beams of a house. In the upper middle are the actual clothes of the pitr and the odoriferous plant barbari.

The day
after tika

(21 October 1969). The divinity Bote, the vehicle of the pitr must take possession of a young medium in the afternoon; the medium, legs smeared with kaolin, dances, holding a sword in his right hand and a babari branch (an odoriferous plant²¹) in his left hand. All his gestures are imitated by the four young men, who the evening before went to call the pitr from the four cardinal directions. All move to the sound of the dhol. They go to the south of the village and stop by a pipal tree, where thirteen stones have been erected and coated with vermillion; representing the ancestors.

While Bote calls the pitr, the elders offer the pinda, two plates of rice, beaten rice, banana, buffalo meat, fish, chichinda and beer at each sanctuary. Bote, his four assistants and the two dhol players return to the village, followed by a group of women carrying three torches and three mats (gundri) on which the pitr seat themselves. The mats are arranged at the foot of the decorated wall opposite the entrance of the house. When he arrives at the house of the deceased, Bote rolls on the ground barking like a dog and laps up the beer which is given to him in a bowl. "Bote has shown himself" said an elder, "the pitr will come tonight.

In the evening, relatives and friends are again reunited in the house of the deceased. The spectators call the pitr using a chant (abare) - "Pitr come". The group forms a circle and an old woman, possessed by the pitr, takes her place under the designs. She speaks very softly and an elder tries to interpret her words. The old woman then pours a little mustard oil on the heads of the relatives of the deceased, as well as several babari leaves: this signals the end of the mourning period. The relatives of the deceased can once again take up a normal life and dress normally. The songs and dances continue throughout the night.

Bote (right) with three assistants. Note the stones representing the thirteen ancestors (pitr).



Two days after tika (22 October, 1969). The men cut a pole (linga) on the left bank of the Sun Kosi. It is made of sal wood, and a small piece of wood which symbolizes the horse of Bote. Then two round vessels are made out of bhorla leaves, "the boats" (khala). Small models of objects associated with the dead man (a boat, an oar, fishing net), are placed in the khala. Pine splinters are also arranged in the center of the khala.

In the beginning of the afternoon, a boy wearing the deceased's clothing dances in front of the house of the dead, holding til flowers. In the evening, the elders fashion the "horse" of Bote out of a piece of wood, supplying a tuft of grass for the tail. This will lead the procession to the house of the dead. Then the dance of Bote mounted on his "wooden house" is done around the pole.

Bote again showed himself, this time the "pumpkin eating" manifestation. Later that night, the pitr spoke from the mouth of an old woman named Bhusuni, enjoining his relatives to take care of his children.

At four o'clock in the morning, the pitr again left. A little rice, an oil lamp and a chick wrapped in a bhola leaf were all placed on a winnowing tray and carried by three men to be placed in front of the linga after circumambulating it many times. Then an elder pretended to kill the chick with a pellet bow and extinguished the lamp. Then four men carried the two khala to the Sun Kosi and lit the pine splinters. When the dawn came, the two khala, the last evocation of the dead now gone forever, burned while they floated down the river.

All the decorations in the house were obliterated and the mistress of the house again smeared ochre on the walls, as it is customarily done, daily.

(23 October 1969) Two clowns wandered through the village in the afternoon, carrying fishing nets to capture the young girls.

(29 October, 1969) Seven days after the end of the shraddha ceremony and after the road going to the riverbank has been cleaned, the pitr returns to the house where, as a human being, he died, and where his belongings and clothes, have been kept on a shelf. Sometimes he takes possession of a member of the household, a child or an unmarried girl or an idiot....

After this last day, the relatives of the deceased give all his clothes to the married daughters and sons-in-law.

"The pitr have their abode in Gosain Kund, but those from Mungitar live in a cave at Dobantar Rato Oras"²².

The pitr also manifest themselves when a serious event takes place in the family (a sickness, destruction of livestock, a missing family member). One must then consult a member of the community who is able to contact the pitr. This person is called a dangre, because he trembles when in trance.

A small container with incense is placed before him and the pitr speaks through his mouth, indicating the cause of the misfortune.

Sarkiman fell ill in May, 1975 and the doctor could not cure him. He went back to his village and spent 500 rupees on jhankris and dhamis without success, in fact he got worse.. The family thought he was dying and even bought a shroud. That very day, Sarkiman's father had a manifestation of the pitr, his own younger brother who had died forty years earlier. The pitr complained:

Don't be worried about Sarkiman, he will recover in a few days. There is no need to sacrifice a chicken, but you have to make offerings of rice and incense. You have forgotten to worship me for fifteen years. The dangre, the kaka of Banewar, spent eleven years in Delhi and he did not worship me..... Sarkiman will be all right, but do not forget to offer one mana of rice, one rupee and incense each year.....

When a Kuswar dies far from his home, a member of his family falls ill and goes into trance, a sign of misfortune. It is then necessary to recover the corpse.

If this is not possible, the soul (pitr) will disclose the reason for his disappearance at the time of Bote jatra.

It is the relatives of the dead that burn the body alongside the river (though sometimes the body is deposited on the bottom of the river). The Kuswar observe several rules in relation to the dead: for thirteen days, they eat neither salt nor spices, then neither oil nor spices until the following Dasain. The eldest son shaves his head and wears white cotton clothing until the following Dasain.

When a Kuswar loses his mother, he doesn't drink milk, eat chili nor eat food prepared with oil for a year. He doesn't eat out of plates made with leaves which contain a milky sap (which remind one of milk) and finally he doesn't attend festivals, especially when tika is given.

Bote, the Kuswar Divinity

Bote devata, the divinity Bote must manifest itself at the time of the ceremony consecrated to those who have died the previous year. This divinity, who can show himself in nine forms takes possession of a member of the community and in entering him, shows its manifestation according to which things it will eat: nettles (sisnu) pumpkin (pharsi), maize (makai) millet beer (kodo ko jar), maize flour, bananas, beaten rice (chyura), buffalo meat, fish..... there are nine Botes and each loves one of this products in particular.

"The divinity doesn't speak....at the very most, the grunt of a pig or the bark of a dog...."

Bote rides a horse and carries a sword (darbal) and a small bell, as well as a branch of babari. "Bote is the porter, the "coolie" of the pitr, the soul of the dead...the pitr says: "Carry my load"."

Since 1967, it has been Kansa of Chaithali (he was 22 years old in 1969) who has been possessed by Bote.

The Dance of Ram

When there is no ceremony to mark the end of mourning in the Kuswar villages, the fishermen celebrate the victory of Ram over the demon Ravana²³. The mijhar of the village plays Prince Rama and the young

men are the monkey army. All dance to the sound of the madal drum. An old man wearing a beard of corn leaves and hair made from peelings from a banana tree stalk, dressed in rags, symbolizes Ravana. The demon makes obscene gestures. A man imitates the gait of an old woman to represent Sita taken off by Ravana. Finally, the demon Ravenna, symbolized by an effigy (tusman), a pumpkin placed on four posts, is "killed" by Rama.

Kuswar and Danuwar

Although their way of life is identical to the Kuswar, we must distinguish the Danuwar, whom we have mentioned at the beginning of our study. The Danuwar live in the Bagmati River valley, at Duku, in the Kathmandu valley and further south, up to the basin of the Indrawati and the Sun Kosi²⁴. Bista states that there are about 11,000 Danuwar, distributed throughout the hills of Eastern Nepal and the Tarai, including those in the Kathmandu valley²⁵. There are very few west of Kathmandu. The Barha and Khumhale however, (related to the Danuwar) are even less numerous and live especially west of Kathmandu.

The Kuswar, the term which is used most often, take their distinction from their eating habits. They raise pigs, but the Danuwar, Kumale and Barha, in revenge, do not eat them.

In principle, there is no marriage between the different groups.

Comparison between the Kuswar and Danuwar

	<u>Kuswar</u>	<u>Danuwar</u>
Geographic location	Middle valley of Nepal near the rivers and ferries.	More in the Mahabharat Zone further away from the rivers.
Language	One notes minor differences in vocabulary.	
Subsistence	Subsistence agriculture the remaining ferries.	Subsistence agriculture

Animal Husbandry	Raising of Pigs	Do not eat pork.
Social organization	no cross-cousin marriage 7 generation rule.	Exogamous lines.
Community	<u>mijhar</u> and <u>gaurung</u>	<u>mijhar</u> and <u>gaurung</u>
Religion	do not call Brahman role of brother-in-law (<u>jawain</u>)	Pujari - Brahmin Shraddha - Brahmin

The Kuswar and Development

The traveller cannot mistake the Kuswar settlement, with its compact group of small houses, surrounded by gardens and trees of various species. This "ecological" unity can also be understood in terms of a social unity. The Kuswar are independent of their neighbouring castes and have their own system of values, their own social structure and religion. One of them, the mijhar, is responsible for ritual and purification, helped in this by the village elders.



The dance of Ram at Luphughat (1967): Ram and the monkeys.

One can ask oneself, how much longer can these structures be maintained. If, for the moment, we do not notice the important changes in the communities we know, we must nevertheless keep in mind what D.B. Bista has observed in relation to the Tharu of the Tarai. He says,

As with all other societies in Nepal, the Tharu community is undergoing a tremendous change. There is a wave of reform among the educated Tharus. They have changed their food habits, adopted Hindu religion and introduced modern education. There is a Tharu organization known as the Tharu welfare society, which provides hostels in Birgunj for school children and students of both sexes...

There has been less education for the Kuswar, partly because of the distance from their settlements to the schools. In the administrative area, the Kuswar represent only a very small community, these are at the mercy of very powerful interests. But the most important factor is the disappearance of the ferries, replaced through modern technology by the bridges, and for the Kuswar, their activities have lost meaning. The men of Chaithali have taken the road to India for work now for more than ten years, to Bhutan for nine, all the young between 16 and 25 years of age have set out and never returned.....

One asks oneself what will become of these small and isolated communities in the near future, emptied of their young blood, threatened by technology and things built for the masses, not for the cult of the pitr.

Appendix 1

सरादको गीत दशमीको दिन

(translated by K. P. Rimal)

डांडा देखि घरसम्म गाएर आउने गीत.

उडी आयो मंगेरा वस्यो पातल
 पुरुखै देखि चली आयो फूयाली मादल
 बाबरीको फूली मकमक वासना
 मखमली फूली मकमक वासना
 तिसुर छांगी फूली मकमक वासना
 मकमक वासनालाई लै लै आवरे
 स्वावालीला छाइला कुरी छाडी आवरे
 भिंगटीला छाइला कुरी चारे आवरे
 सातै डांडा उकाली सातै डांडा वराली
 करांतीको लउरी टेकाउँदै २ चारे आवरे
 कांरेवाले वांसूरी छाडी आवरे
 बासको वांसूरी बजाउँदै २ चारे आवरे
 तामको ढोलके छाडी आवरे
 काठको ढोलके बजाउँदै २ चारे आवरे
 दशै हातको पगरी विसै हातको जामरी
 लमक र भमक गरी लाई आवरे.....

घरमा गाउने गीत

पारि भित्ता पखेरीमा के के लेखेको
 पित्र देउताको जिउंती लेखेको

Sarad Songs Dashami (First Day)

Song to the House of the Deceased

Came flying the sparrow, stopped in Hades¹.

Came in use from the ancestor, jhyali² and madal

Babari flower smells sweet,

Godovari flower smells sweet,

Makhamali³ flower smells sweet,

Titurchhangi flower smells sweet,

Come-come for fragrance here.

Come having left the abode thatched with leaves,

Come to the house roofed with tiles.

Seven hills ascend and seven hills descend.

Come leaning on a karanti-wood stick.

Come having left the flute of bone,

Come soon, playing the flute of bamboo.

Come having left the dhol of cooper,

Come soon, playing the dhol of wood.

With turban of ten cubits and jamari⁴ of twenty cubits

Come soon wearing them fast and smart.

Song in the House

What drawing is made across on the wall ?

A drawing of the pitr's figure is made.

1. Hades, Nepali patal, under the earth
2. Jhyali, small brass cymbals
3. Makhamali, small bush flowering in Asoj-Kartik, compulsory for Bai Tika on Tihar (Gomphrena globosa)
4. Jamari, cloth put around the waist.

एकादशीको दिन

घरै देखि डाँडा सम्म र डाँडा देखि घरसम्म
गाउने गीत

वावरीको फूली मकमक वासना
मकमक वासनालाई लै लै आवरे
सातै डाँडा उकाली सातै डाँडा वराली
कराँतीको लउरी टेकाउँदै र ल्याइ पु-याँए

वारी पनि दुधै कोशी पारी पनि दुधै कोशी
माफमा मफुवा ए अंवा विरूवा सारी ल्याउँला
इन्द्राँतीको तिर तिर मरलाको पात
पसकि देउन दिदै रानी मारसीको भात
सलाहरूको सिन्का गोगनाको पता
ढोना पतरी गांस गांस चारे आवरे
इन्द्राँतीको तिर तिर नागवेली लहरा
हाथमा जावी कांधमा वन्दुक गर्जाउँला पहरा
बाबजीको गहिरी खेत पानी छिरिवा
हाथमा ल्याउँ कि पातमा ल्याउँ वावरी विरूवा
नेपालमा चोलो चुनरी तीन शहर
मित्र देउता आउने लाग्यो वक्याउ गुन्दरी
तीन शहर नेपालमा फ्लायो फ्लांस
पित्र देउता आइ सक्यो मन गर ख्लांस

Ekadashi (Second Day)

Song All the Way from the House to the Hill and all
the Way Back

Babari flower smells sweet,

Come-come for fragrance here.

Seven hills ascend and seven hills descend

Making Pitra, having been on bamboo stick support is
brought.

While Offering the Pinda

This side is Kosi and the other side is also Kosi,

In the middle is majhuwa⁴, we will plant a guava
seedling.

Along the side of the Indrawati, is a bhorla leaf

Put the Marshi rice into a plate, o sister,

With salahar needles and gogan⁵ leaf,

Sew the leaf plate, come soon.

Along the side of the Indrawati is a snake-like creeper.

Fish bag in hand and rifle on shoulder, echo the cliff,

The farmer of Babaji, has water bakage.

Should we bring babari seedlings in hand or in a leaf?

A blouse of chunari is in fashion in our three towns in
Nepal.

Pitra god is coming, stretch out the mat.

The palas⁶ is budding throughout three towns in Nepal,

Keep your mind clear, pitra god is coming.

4. majhuwa, sandy place between two river beds, also a
region where the Kuswar used to live in former times.

5. gogan, Turner p. 1476, "Kind of Saurauja".

6. palas, Turner p. 369 a. Butea frondosa.

घरभित्र गाउने गीत

पानै शहर नेपालमा चल्थो चुनरी
पित्र देउता आइ सक्यो वक्याउ गुन्दरी
वलेफीको काठै सांगु लगेछु कालैले
न बुढो मथ्यौं न वाला मथ्यौं लगेछु कालैले
इन्द्रावतीको तिरै तिर नागवेली लहरा
पित्र देउता आइ सक्यो गर्जौं पहरा
दोलाघाटको लामो हुंगा छोटो वहना
पित्र देउता आइ सक्यो टेकाउ वहना
वांगो पनि ल्याइ देउ बावै, टेरो पनि ल्याइ देउ बावै
वांगो र टेरो आफ्नो सौक्याउला

भित्रबाट बाहिर निस्कन गाउने गीत

उडी गयो भंगेरा वस्यो पातैमा
चलवाले चलवा संगै साथमा

Song Inside the House

Chunari⁷ is in fashion throughout five towns in Nepal,

God pitra already came, stretch out the mat.

The wave washed away the wooden plank bridge of Balephi.

It is for death to take away, otherwise neither the old
nor the child dies.

Serpent-like creeper along the bank of the Indrawati.

All ready is the god pitra, let us make the cliff echo.

Long is the boat of Dolalghat, but short is the paddle.

All ready is the god pitra, get him supported on the
paddle.

Do bring the crooked one, also the straight one,

I shall straighten myself the crooked and the straight.

Song When They Go Outside of the House

Went away, flying the sparrow, sat on a leaf

Let us proceed together (in company).

7. A Kind of multi-coloured cloth worn by women.

वाहिर गाउने गीत

वाहिर र मित्र घुमी नाचउंला

वांगो पनि ल्याइ दिउंला, टेरो पनि ल्याइ दिउंला

वांगो र टेरो आफैँ सोफ्याउनु

के को घोडा ल्याउंछौंवावे, लाटी काठको

अमलाको घोडा मेरो वहुलाइ रहेछ

Song Outside (at Night)

We will dance going round and round, inside-outside,
We bring the crooked one and the straight one.
Straighten the crooked and the straight one yourself.
What sort of horse do you bring? It is of lati wood.
Horse of amala⁸ wood is going mad.

8. amala: Phyllanthus emblica.

दुवादशीको दिन

वनमा काठ काट्न जाँदाको गीत

उडी गयो मंगेरा वस्यो पातैमा
चलो वारे चलोवा संगै साथमा
वांगो पनि ल्याउला वावै टेरो पनि ल्याउला वावै
वांगो र टेरो आफ्नै सोझ्याइ लैजानु

वनबाट घरमा काठ ल्याउदाको गीत

वांगो पनि ल्यायाँ वावै, टेरो पनि ल्यायाँ वावै
वांगो र टेरो आफ्नै सोझ्याइ लैजानु
के को घोडा ल्यायो वावै, लाटी काठको

घरमित्र गाउने गीत

आज मैले माछा मारें माछै फकेटा
याफन किरियालाई नआइ नसित
याफन किरियालाई आउरै परसत
केरा, चिउरा सारे आवरे
पित्र देउता आइ सकेन चारै आवरे

सामल तुमल माग्दा गाउँ घुमी गाउने गीत

उडी गयो मंगेरा वस्यो पातैमा
चलवारे चलोवा संगै साथमा
सामला र तुमला हामी मागौला
पित्र देउतालाई भारी पु-याउला
घुमी घुमी नाचाँला धुली उडाउला

Duwadashi (Third Day)

Song When They Go to Out Wood in the Forest

Went away flying the sparrow, sat on a leaf,
Let us proceed together (in company).
Straighten the crooked and the straight yourself.

Song While They Bring Wood Poles to the House

We have brought the crooked one and the straight one
Straighten the crooked and straight yourself.
What kind of horse have you brought? It is of lati wood.

Song Inside the House

It is a phageta fish that I fished for today.
Come without fail for your own kiriya
You must come for your own kiriya,
Come to eat banana, beaten rice.

Song While Asking for Foodstuffs in the Village

Went away flying the sparrow, sat on a leaf,
Let us proceed together (in company).
We beg foodstuffs for the pitra.
Let us make a load big enough for the pitra god.
Shall we dance going round and round and raise the dust.

राती घर बाहिर गाउने गीत (विदाइ को निमित्त)

मकमली फूली मकमक वासना लै लै जावरे
 वावरी फूली मकमक वासना लै लै नावरे
 फिंगटीला छाउला कुरी छाडी नावरे
 स्यावालीला छाइला कुरी चारै नावरे
 वांगो पनि लैजानु वावै, टेरो पनि लैजानु वावै
 वांगो र टेरो सोफ्याउ लैजाउ

विहान विदा गर्ने गीत

हाइ मेरी सुकुवा । हाइ मेरी सुकुवा ।
 यमलाको गाज बाट लडी मरेछ
 हाइ मेरी सुकुवा । हाइ मेरी सुकुवा ।
 कौना डंकिनीले हानी मारेछ

Song Outside the House at Night for Send-Off.

Makhamali flower smells sweet, go away, go away.

Babari flower smells sweet, go away, go away.

Go away out of the tiled roof house.

Be away in the abode thatched with leaves.

Take away the crooked one and the straight one,

Straighten the crooked and the straight.

Song in the Morning for the Send-off.

O dear! O dear!

You died falling down from the amala tree.

O dear! O dear!

Which witch⁸ knocked (you) dead?.

8. Dankini: witch.

Appendix 2

Plants used for Fodder by the Kuswar and Tamang of the Temal Region Kavre-Palanchok District (identification by J.F. Dobremez).

<u>Nepali/ Kuswar Name</u>	<u>Tamang Name</u>	<u>Latin Name</u>	<u>Type of Cultiva- tion</u>	<u>Fodder</u>	<u>Others utili- sations.</u>
<u>aak</u>	<u>ak</u>	<u>Calotropis gigantea</u>		year round	
<u>ainjeru</u>	<u>prin</u>	<u>Loranthum. sp</u>	in the forest	year round very good fodder	
<u>anp</u>	<u>amba</u>	<u>Mangifera indica</u>	tree planted in Shrawan-Bhadau	"	
<u>badel pathe</u>	<u>kwarkwar guki</u>	<u>Dioscorea sp</u>	(creeper) forest	year round	
<u>bhohale</u>	?	<u>Solanum verbasci- folium</u>		Chait-Jeth	
<u>chiple</u>	<u>khari</u>	<u>Boehmeria sp</u>			
<u>chiuri</u>	<u>sinmar</u>	<u>Bassia butyracea</u>	tree planted in Jeth-Asar	fodder for buffaloes Chait-Baisakh	1.
<u>dhainyaro</u>	<u>byurgara</u>	<u>Woodfordia fruticosa</u>	Shrub	Poush-Baisakh	medicine. 2.
<u>dursil/ dhusre</u>	<u>busulsul</u>	<u>Colebrookia oppositi- folia</u>		Poush-Baisakh for goats	
<u>dudhe</u>	<u>niedor</u>	<u>Alstonia scholaris</u>		Chait-Baisakh for goats	3.
<u>gayo</u>	<u>maya</u>	<u>Bridelia retusa</u>		Poush-Magh	4.
<u>ginneu</u>	<u>gayo</u>	<u>Ficus lacor</u>	on the banks of the terracos (bari)	trees	
<u>jalma</u>	<u>makarparsa</u>	<u>Celtis tetranda</u>	tree planted as a short in the fields	Mangsir to Jeth very good fodder	
<u>kayu</u>	<u>tanyurpan</u>	<u>Symplocos laurina</u>		Poush-Baisakh good fodder	

Nepali/ Kuswar Name	Tamang Name	Latin Name	Type of Cultiva- tion	Fodder	Others utili- sations.
<u>khaniu</u>	<u>kosin</u>	<u>Ficus</u> <u>semicordata</u>		Poush to Jeth good fodder	
<u>koiralo</u>		<u>Bauhinia</u> <u>variegata</u>		Flowers eaten in salad	
<u>Kukur- dahino</u>	<u>yolabde</u>	<u>Smilax aspera</u>	(creeper) forest	<u>Poush-Asar</u>	
<u>kutmero</u>	<u>tsalapte</u>	<u>Litsea</u> <u>polyantha</u>	planted	<u>Poush-Baisakh</u>	
<u>lato- timla</u>	<u>ramaku</u>	<u>Ficus hirta</u>		<u>Baisakh-Jeth.</u>	
<u>paiyun</u>	<u>biursin</u>	<u>Prunus</u> <u>cerasoides</u>			edible fruit
<u>pani- amala</u>	<u>kioambal</u>	<u>Nephrolepis</u> <u>cordifolia</u>		<u>Chait-Baisakh</u>	fruit medicine 5.
<u>pitaoli/ satibayer</u>	<u>satibir</u>	<u>Rhus parvi- flora</u>		for goats	edible seeds
<u>rukha katahar</u>	<u>katai</u>	<u>Artocarpus</u> <u>integri- folius</u>	planted	<u>Poush-Baisakh</u>	
<u>sindure</u>	<u>sindir</u>	<u>Mallotus</u> <u>philip- pinensis</u>		<u>Chait-Jeth</u>	
<u>tanki</u>	<u>taki</u>	<u>Bauhinia</u> <u>variegata</u>	in forest	year round	

1. If chickens eat the chiuri seeds, they will die.
2. The red flowers are used dried as a decoction against diarrhea.
3. Latex bearing plant, a very common name for all plants with this characteristic.
4. The young leaves are thought to be poisonous.
5. Crushed fruit is used in a decoction as a febrifuge.

Appendix 3Plants Utilized in Various Rituals (Identified byJ. F. Dobremez)

<u>amalā</u>	<u>Phyllanthus emblica</u>
<u>bābāri</u>	<u>Ocimum sp.</u>
<u>bar</u>	<u>Ficus bengalensis</u>
<u>bhorla</u>	<u>Bauhinia vahlii</u>
<u>dhubo</u>	<u>Cyanodon dactylon</u>
<u>gayo</u>	<u>Ficus lacor</u>
<u>godāvari</u>	<u>Chrysanthemum sp.</u>
<u>gogan</u>	<u>Saurauja napaulensis</u>
<u>kus</u>	<u>Poa cynosuroides</u>
<u>lalpati</u>	<u>Poinsettia pulcherrima</u>
<u>lati</u>	<u>Symplocos sp.</u>
<u>makhamali</u>	<u>Gomphrena globosa</u>
<u>pālungā</u>	<u>Spinacea sp.</u>
<u>pipal</u>	<u>Ficus religiosa</u>
<u>seipatra</u>	<u>Tagetes sp.</u>
<u>til</u>	<u>Sesamum indicum</u>
<u>tithepati</u>	<u>Artemisia vulgaris</u>
<u>totola</u>	<u>Oroxylum indicum</u>

FOOTNOTES

1. This research is an offshoot of work done in another area and is presented in the hope that it will generate other ongoing research. This research is being done under the Himalaya Research Program of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. The material was collected with the help of Sarkiman Kuswar and the villagers to whom I convey my thanks.

This article has been translated from the original in French by A Manzardo, INAS, Kathmandu.

2. kus, Turner 102 b, "Poa cynosuroides used in religious ceremonies".
3. The Chepang, an ethnic group with a Tibeto-Burman language have the same origin myth c.f. Bista, D.B. "Chepang", Nepal Digest, Dec. Jan. 1972, pp. 94-106.
4. In the census of 1961, the majhi population stood in the neighborhood of 6,000. The Kuswar have been placed under this more general term and counted. They are distributed as follows in Nepal:

Eastern Hills.	3,560
Eastern Inner Tarai	282
Eastern Tarai	1,582
Western Hills	100
Central Inner Tarai	269

5. The Kuswar are found in western Nepal at the Trisuli and its affluents such as the Dhare Khola (left affluent of the Trisuli) at Bashitar. South of the Kathmandu valley there is a Danuwar village close to the sanctuary at Dakshinkali.

The Danuwar of Naya Pauwa (in the Trisuli valley) on the Kathmandu - Pokhara road (km. 34) came from Sipaghat, nine generations ago. There are others in the hills of eastern Nepal, as well as in the Tarai.

6. Turner 507 b "mijhar: honorific name for an ironsmith (Kami) or Bhote". This term is given to the headman of a Damai community as well.
7. The juice of the following plants are used as poisons in Nepal:

Ketuki

Euphorbia royliana

shiundi

Euphorbia splendens

khirla

Sapium baccatum

timur

Xanthoxylum armatum

The latex of khirla is a "poison" and if any touches the eye, it is necessary to immediately treat it with the antidote, the milk of a woman or of a black goat.

8. Identification after D.D. Bhatt, Natural History and Economic Botany of Nepal. Nets are made with fibers from Boehmeria platyphylla or Gerardiana heterophylla.
9. Identification after D.D. Bhatt, op cit, pp. 147-150 Appendix B, list of the fish of Nepal.
10. For the kipat system c.f. Regmi (M.C.) Landowner-ship in Nepal. Berkeley, California University Press, 1975. (translators note: See also N.K. Rai, The Economy of Pandrung, INAS, M.S. pp. 100-101 also footnote 19 and 21, pp 120-122, also "Notes on Kipat System II", Regmi Research Series, yr. 6, No. 6, p. 101-104 for a clear definition of kipat in this context.
11. Until 1945, the husband did not go after his wife. Only the friends of the husband brought her and after the ceremony accompanied her to the house of her parents.
12. rekhi, Turner p. 541a, "a line of flour drawn in the course of a religious ceremony".
13. Concerning the Damai c.f. Hellfer, M., "Fanfares villageoises au Nepal", Objets et Mondes IX, I, 1969 pp. 51-58.

14. The eve of the first day of the month of Magh, in the lunar calendar, they prepare sweet buckwheat cakes. The next day, they get up at sunrise and take a ritual bath, then they eat these cakes and meat. That day the sun is in the constellation Makara. Members of the Nepali castes and the Tamangs practice the same rituals. c.f. P. R. Bajracharya "Makara Sakranti, an Introduction", Nepal Digest V, Dec-Jan 1977. pp. 110-112.
15. Jala devi, the goddess of the rivers, there is no temple consacrated to her.
16. Shikari, divinity of the jungle and the hunt, we have heard him mentioned by the Hayu, G. Toffin has observed a series of rituals to Shikari among the Pahari.
17. This puja is done by the Nepali castes in the case of a cholera epidemic. It protects humans in general against all epidemics (information of K. Rimal).
18. Turner 381 a, "Pitr: the spirits of the dead, ancestors, manes".
19. The dhol is a drum with two skins like a madal of bigger size, always made in pairs from a single hollowed trunk of the kirra (Sapium insigne) with a head made from the stretched skin of an adult buffalo. They are always played together at certain ceremonies. The stick is held in the right hand. Ceremonies: the day of Sorasarat (full moon preceding Dasain); puja (in the month of Asar) for the maize harvest, accompanied by ritual songs; in Kartik, Kadasi for the work in the fields and finally for the festival of the pitr.
20. In 1969, the pitr showed itself through three women intermediaries: Bhusuni, Kansi (mother of Subbah) and Mahili.
21. Turner p. 434 b Barbari: "The sweet smelling herb Ocimum racemosum". (actually Ocimum sanctum).

22. Among the Bahuns and Chhetris, the pitr are considered to be divinities and are given offerings. Sarkiman states that, "in the shraddha ceremony offerings (pinda) are made to the ancestors (pitr). Banana, honey, cow's milk, curd, ghee, (panchamrit) are mixed with cooked rice. It has been explained that by calling and feeding the ancestors, they do not become bayu that is malevolent spirits. Because of this ceremony, the Kuswar do not have bayu and their ancestors are benevolent.

"When a Bahun or Chhetri dies they perform kiriya, they burn the body and then it is finished but they do not call the ancestors and feed them, thus they are often plagued with bayu...."

c.f. also M. Gaborieau, "Les bayu du Nepal Central", Purusartha, Paris, 1975 pp 67-90 and V. Bouillier, op cit notes 134-138.

23. c.f. Thomas, P., Epics, Myths and Legends of India, Ramayana p. 28 and following. Plays about the Ramayana are also done among the Tharu.
24. Bista, D.B., People of Nepal p. 128.
25. We have found the following clans at Nargapawa; Rai Rajpur, Rai Lamtsane, Rai Dabari.

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population, social structure and strategic behaviour: an essay on polyandry, fertility and change in limi panchayat

Melvyn C. Goldstein,

One of the fundamental goals of anthropological research in Nepal must be to generate data, explanations and recommendations which can be used by policy makers to improve the quality of life of the inhabitants without causing either long or short term degradation of the environment. In particular, the socio-economic systems of existing hill and mountain populations must be stabilized in their environments so that current patterns of population growth, out-migration and ecosystem degradation do not continue or become exacerbated and systems based on sustained yields instituted. One essential element in any such endeavor is an understanding of cultural demography, i.e. the study of the interface between sociocultural and demographic factors. Particularly important for this task is an understanding of the mechanisms by which environmental (both social and physical) inputs affect population growth and the effects of population increase (or decrease) on the ecosystem. Unfortunately, with only one or two notable exceptions (MacFarlane 1976, for example) this dimension of cultural ecological research has not received adequate attention among anthropologists working in the Himalayas. In this report I shall discuss some facets of this complex relationship and illustrate its significance for interpreting and planning development by means of an example from N.W. Nepal.

The paper employs two complementary perspectives. The first is concerned with "coping" behavior and focuses on how actors attempt to obtain individual and social objectives through the use of social and material resources. In the words of John Bennett (1976:847), this approach

. . . focuses on human actors who try to realize objectives, satisfy needs, or find peace while coping with present conditions. In their coping, humans create the social future in the sense of generating new problems or perpetuating old ones and may even modify the biological constitution of the population in the process . . . By analyzing the factors that guide the choices of strategies, one gains knowledge of the possibility and direction of change and the relation of human behavior to the milieus.

The second perspective focuses on the operation or components of ecosystems with particular emphasis on the role of social and cultural factors in such systems. Both these approaches will be used to examine the manner in which fraternal polyandry is part of a negative feedback loop regulating population size to resources and how recent political economic factors are affecting the traditional marriage system with important and potentially disruptive consequences for the population in question.

The data presented here was collected by the author in Limi Panchayat, Humla District, N.W. Nepal during field studies undertaken in 1974 and 1976. Limi is a high mountain valley with contiguous pasture areas occupying together approximately 150 square miles. The valley itself runs northeast to southwest and contains three villages, all of which are over 12,000 feet in elevation. The pasture areas range from about 13,000' to 17,000' with pastoral encampments being found as high as 15,600'. While politically a part of Nepal, the people of Limi are linguistically and culturally Tibetan².

As in most areas of Tibetan culture, the largest kinship unit in Limi is the corporate family. Marriages are usually patrilocal and normally either monogamous or fraternal polyandrous (two or more brothers sharing one wife). Contrary to practices in Tibet, bigenerational polyandry (father and son sharing a spouse) is not permitted. Plural polyandry or polygynandry (two or more brothers sharing more than one wife) is encountered, albeit infrequently. Also unlike standard Tibetan practice is the fact that bilateral cross-cousin marriage (marriage, for a male, to his mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter) is esteemed in Limi, whereas in Tibet it is considered incestuous. Such cross-cousin marriages may be polyandrous or monogamous.

Polyandry is the ideal form of marriage in families with more than one son and significant agricultural fields. In Tsang, one of the Limi villages, for example, 20 of the 52 marriages recorded were polyandrous. Of the 32 monogamous marriages, seven were in instances where a family had only one son, 23 were cases where brothers split off from previously consummated polyandrous marriages, and two were case where brothers split up before marriage, each of them marrying monogamously.

Before discussing why the people of Limi marry polyandrously, it is important to understand the demographic consequences of this type of marriage. Fraternal

polyandry in Limi functions as a very important and effective mechanism of population reduction, although one which is unperceived by the inhabitants. It reduces both the number of females exposed to conception risk, and the extent of exposure of others and thereby reduces population growth.

The 20 polyandrous marriages in Tsang included 54 males and 23 females,³ yielding an average of 2.35 males per female. If we assume that without polyandry each of the 23 females would have had one husband, there are, then 31 "excess" males who are absorbed by polyandry, i.e., who will not seek a separate bride. This is 21% of the total males in Tsang and 33% of the males from 10 to 54 years of age.

Polyandry, however, does not reduce the fertility of individual females. The Tsang village data summarized in Table I shows that the average number of living children is 2.9 for monogamously married women and 2.7 for polyandrously married women⁴. This difference is so small, given the sample size, as to be insignificant. However, polyandry does have very important effects on fertility when viewed from a population or aggregate point of view.

Table I. Average Number of Living Offspring in Polyandrous and Monogamous Marriages

Age	Monogamous		Average per females	Polyandrous		Average per female
	Number of females	Number of offspring		Number of females	Number of offspring	
15-19	0	0	0	1	2	2
20-24	5	3	0.6	5	7	1.4
25-29	7	14	2	2	2	1
30-34	5	16	3.2	7	14	2
35-39	4	13	3.3	1	4	4
40-44	4	18	4.5	1	6	6
45+	8	33	4.1	4	22	5.4
Total	33	97	2.9	21	57	2.7

Without the intervention of cultural or biological mechanisms to reduce the number of females, one would expect that a marriage system such as just described would generate a sizable number of "surplus" unmarried women and in Tsang there are no intervening mechanisms. There is no infanticide of any kind and no polygyny (one man having, by himself, two or more wives)⁵. In fact, there were more females than males (76 to 68) in

the reproductive age bracket. Not surprisingly, we also found a significant surplus of unmarried women. In Tsang, 31% (or 21 out of 67) of the females of child-bearing age but over 20 (20-49) were unmarried. This figure would be even higher if we were to include 18- and 19- year-old females, but, since they still have a fair chance for marriage, they have been omitted.

The proportion of unmarried females in each age category is indicated in Table II. These proportions are extremely high for a preindustrial Asian society where virtually 100% of adult females marry.

Table II. Number of Living Offspring per Married and Unmarried Female and the Proportion of Unmarried Females

Age	Total Number of females	Number of married females	Number of living offspring for married females	Average Number of living offspring per married female	Number of unmarried females	Number of living offspring for unmarried females	Average Number of living offspring per unmarried females	Proportion of unmarried of total number of females
15-19	16	1	2	2	15	0	0	0.94
20-24	15	11	10	0.91	4	0	0	0.27
25-29	12	8	16	2	4	3	0.8	0.33
30-34	17	12	30	2.5	5	1	0.2	0.29
35-39	8	5	17	3.4	3	3	1	0.38
40-44	8	6	24	4	2	4	2	0.25
45-49	7	6	28	4.7	1	2	2	0.14
50+	17	15	58	4.1	2	2	1	0.12
Total	100	64	213	3.32	36	15	0.41	0.36
Total for ages 20+	84	63	211	3.34	21	15	0.71	0.25

The unmarried females in Tsang either (1) continue to live at home (eight cases), (2) establish their own separate households (seven cases), or (3) work as servants for others (three cases). There is mild social stigma for females who do not get married but there is no ostracism or social isolation. They comprise a named social category (morang) which has lower tax and corvee responsibilities than the other polyandrous and monogamous family units.

Not being married, however, is not synonymous with exclusion from the reproductive pool. Extramarital relationships, if discreet, are tolerated and therefore a number of the so-called unmarried women do in fact have offspring. Actually, half of the women in this category had one or more children. However, it is essential to note that the number of offspring per "unmarried" female is far lower than that of married women. The average number of living children in 1974 for married women was 3.3 per woman, whereas the average for the unmarried women age 20+ was 0.7 per woman (see Table II). As there is no infanticide and no significant difference in diet or style of life, the explanation of this difference is assumed here to be frequency of coitus, although data are not readily available.

Aside from factors such as the need for discretion and the difficulty of privacy, there are several important economic motives which seem to restrain frequency of coitus for the unmarried females. From the male's point of view, illegitimate children are expensive. The genitor is jurally responsible for his children, illegitimate or not, and is required to provide a variety of items such as a yak, clothes, a sword, and often even some plots of land. There is a great deal of open discussion among males (particularly the younger ones) about the risks of having affairs with unmarried women and this must certainly act as a restraint on the cautious and the poor. From the woman's point of view, children are also difficult to support. The payments made by the genitor are insufficient to sustain a child and unmarried females do not have enough land even to support themselves, let alone their children. They make up their deficits partly by weaving cloth and selling it but mainly by working for others. There is, therefore, a limit to the amount of deficit a woman can overcome, since she can only weave so fast and work so many days. My contention is that after the second child, and perhaps even after the first, the economic pressures become so great that unless there is some unusual source of income available,

unmarried females voluntarily either assume a celibate role or have intercourse at most only on infrequent occasions. One well-to-do man in Tsang has an open relationship with his unmarried neighbor. He supports her and openly treats her children like his own. He is able to dispense with normal discreteness because his wife many years ago had an illegitimate child and thus, quite literally, forfeited her right to object to his actions. It is significant to note that in this case the unmarried woman (who is 40 years of age) has four living children. This is above the average for married women and the only example of an unmarried woman with more than two children. In any case, regardless of the cause of this significantly lower rate of children for the unmarried women, its consequences are obvious for the overall population picture. Polyandry effectively restricts 31% of the reproductive-age females over 20 from full participation in childbearing and thereby depresses population growth. However, the adaptive significance of polyandry goes beyond this. My further contention is that fraternal polyandry in Limi is part of a negative feedback process which operates to adjust, to a degree at least, population size to resources. As an introduction to the discussion of the nature of this feedback loop, a brief comment is necessary on the reasons that the villagers themselves have for practicing of polyandry.

Individuals in Limi certainly do not embark on polyandrous marriages to reduce individual or aggregate fertility levels. No amount of questioning indicated that any of the subjects saw any connection between polyandry and fertility, and the fact that scholars have also not seen this connection is corroborating evidence for the elusiveness of this relationship. The inhabitants of Limi also do not marry polyandrously because they enjoy sharing a wife with other siblings or because of any deeply rooted motivational value such as "sibling solidarity". As we shall see, a variety of interpersonal tensions and conflicts are not uncommon in polyandrous alliances⁶.

The subjects' own explanation of their preference for polyandry is highly materialistic. They choose fraternal polyandry to preserve the productive resources of their family units (primarily land and secondarily animals) across generations. Polyandry is perceived and consciously selected as a means of precluding the division of a family's resources among its male heirs. Since land is scarce, most families having less than 1 acre of arable land, the people of Limi consider the

maintenance of this land intact, i.e., without being split into smaller and smaller parcels, a critical factor in sustaining a satisfactory standard of living, though not necessarily essential for sheer survival.

Polyandry achieves this goal by providing an intrafamilial milieu in which discord is minimized by the presence of only one wife on each generational level and thus only one set of heirs. It avoids the development of a situation in which nuclear family units within the family consisting of a brother, his wife, and children compete with each other. The fact that there is only one wife and one set of children (heirs) is believed to be a major deterrent to serious conflict and fission.

The need for labor is another important-and perceived-advantage of polyandry. While minimizing the risk of division of the family estate, polyandry concentrates labor in production units (corporate families) in a manner the traditional European primogeniture structured stem family did not. This is economically important since the typical agri-pastoral-trade economy of areas like Limi requires labor activities simultaneously in widely different locations for maximum economic productivity. For example, some of a family's females might remain in the village to do agricultural work all summer. One male might stay with the animals in the pasture areas, another might be in Humla trading, another in Purang (Tibet) buying salt, and still another in the village doing craft work such as making wooden tent pegs, beams, horse and bovine saddles, and the famous Limi wooden eating bowls. Fraternal polyandry, like the joint family, concentrates labor in family corporations but does so in a manner analogous to stem families in that it reduces greatly the possibility of partition of the corporation's estate.

The people of Limi consider the maintenance of the family estate intact a critical factor in sustaining a quality of life associated with families of substance and social standing. Fraternal polyandry is the mechanism they use to accomplish this.

This economic dimension, however, is oriented toward social advantage rather than toward subsistence per se. Mary Douglas, in an article dealing with population regulation (1966:268), has cogently argued this point with respect to population, and the same holds true for polyandry. As she put it:

". . . they are more often inspired by concern for scarce social resources, for objects giving status and prestige"

In other words, polyandry is selected not for "bread and butter" motives -- fear of starvation in a difficulty environment -- but for the Limi equivalents of oysters and champagne.

All situations where multiple brothers are present clearly do not result in polyandrous marriage. Very poor families with little land and few, if any, animals, generally undergo fission each generation since their subsistence derives primarily from wage labor or craft production. There is no "estate" of substance to conserve and individuals are as competitive individually as in sets of male siblings.

Polyandry, furthermore is not without problems. Because authority (among brothers) is customarily exercised by the eldest brother, younger male siblings have to subordinate themselves with little hope of changing their status. When these young brothers are aggressive and individualistic, inter-sibling tensions and difficulties often occur. Similarly, tension in polyandrous families may concern the relationship between the wife and her husbands. While the cultural ideal in Limi calls for symmetrical treatment in terms of affection and sexual access, deviations from this ideal occur and generate intra-familial tensions, if not outright conflict. Such "deviations" are particularly common when there is a sizable difference in age between the partners in the marriage. Thus, while polyandry provides an answer to one type of culturally perceived problem (albeit one which the subjects see as critical) it does generate other types of problems. Deviation from the "polyandric ideal", therefore, is manifested not only by the very poor but also by those younger brothers whose intra-familial conflicts are unbearable.

More important than these categories, however, are those cases where individuals could -- in terms of interpersonal relations -- easily remain together with their brothers yet individually might prefer more personal freedom and independence. They comprise a critical category since the more these males decide to precipitate fission (and marry), the higher will be the overall fertility for the populations.

The choice facing all younger male siblings is whether to trade-off personal freedom and independence for economic security and social prestige. Young siblings who are not forced by internal conflict to initiate fission must, before splitting, assess their potential for attaining satisfactory income and social status within some reasonable period. They must examine the opportunity costs of polyandry vis-à-vis going it alone.

Inheritance norms are crucial to an understanding of this assessment of opportunity costs. On a de jure level, Tibetan inheritance norms traditionally permit the partition of the family estate among its male members. Each male in the corporation theoretically has demand rights to an equal share of land and animals. But on a de facto level, the system operates almost as if there were impartible inheritance.

Let us examine a hypothetical family consisting of a father, mother and three sons (five members) where one son decides to separate. Ideally, this son should receive a share equal to $1/4$ or $1/5$ of the estate with the rest of the members retaining $3/4$ $4/5$ of the property and the corporate identity. This latter point is important. The preservation of the identity of family corporations is a central value and in cases of fission the members remaining in the "natal" unit retain the original identity and rights whereas the departing individual established a new unit which is usually relegated to a lower status level if one exists. In Tibet, e.g., "taxpayer" serfs who split become "dü-jung" and in Limi the "throng-pa" become "mi-re". Family corporations, therefore, not only possess estates comprising land and animals but also determine social status and differential rights and obligations. However, in contrast to this expressed "partible" ideal, the covert assumption and behavioral reality is that those members staying with, and maintaining, the family corporation get the major share of the estate. In a case such as that mentioned above, the departing son might receive only $1/8$ of the land and then mostly land of poorer quality. If the father and elder brothers were antagonistic toward him they might well give him less. Litigation, while possible, requires ready capital and political skills normally not possessed by the younger brother and is not initiated often. Consequently, the actual operation of inheritance in Limi and Tibet results in a system in which maintenance of the economic integrity and viability of the perennial corporate family takes precedence over the theoretically equal demand rights of males.

Since inheritance is not likely to generate economic independence for younger brothers, what other alternatives might be available to a son/brother contemplating fission. The obvious avenue for acquiring wealth and status, viz. opening new fields, building up herds and entering into traditional trade, are all unlikely to be perceived as highly viable options.

Most of the plateaus and valleys of Tibet and the northern frontier of Nepal are extremely arid and require adequate and reliable sources of irrigatable water for the sustenance of agriculture. In many areas this is simply not available, but even in areas such as Limi where it is theoretically possible, opening new agriculture fields is still a dubious alternative. The soil in Limi and Tibet is extremely rocky and boulder-strewn and requires an immense effort to clear even a small plot, let alone construct permanent terracing. Furthermore, such newly opened land has far lower productivity than established fields and is difficult to work since it is inevitably far from the main village-field area.

Animal husbandry offers more potential but is also an unlikely alternative. To make herding profitable the neolocal couple (the partitioning brother and his new spouse) would have to devote virtually full time to it during both summer and winter. More critical, however, is the fact that animal herding is extremely risky. Animal mortality does not operate "on the average" and it would not be unusual for a couple's initial (inherited) herd to die, or be decimated during the first winter. A recurrent saying in Limi is that "land doesn't die the way animals do". Yearly fluctuation is great and it is the small herders who are most vulnerable to these climatic and disease vagaries.

Similarly, trade is an unlikely avenue. Traditional trade patterns primarily involved salt and wool, both of which required substantial capital in the form of numerous yak or sheep for transportation. For reasons discussed above, such animals would not be available in sufficient number to enable a young brother to successfully enter traditional trade patterns.

Under what circumstances, then, might younger males perceive the opportunity costs of fission not prohibitive? Traditionally, there are very few indeed. The most important would be when arable land and/or animal herds became available at minimal or no cost. I am referring here to situations where natural calamities

eliminated the membership of one or more family corporations. Epidemics, floods and land-slides would have been the most likely catastrophes. But, since these would have been few and far between, it seems highly unlikely that there would have been frequent occasions when sizable defections from the polyandrous model occurred over and above those prompted by unbearable internal discord and those initiated by the poor.

The consequence of this diachronically was that the estates of corporate family units were for the most part, conserved in-tact over generations, and a land-to-people ratio was maintained that is higher for the upper peasant strata than for the poor since the former would have had less offspring per male (due to polyandry) and thus higher productivity on a per-capita basis. In Tsang, for example, the high strata families (membership in which is hereditary) comprise only 25% of the total families and about 40% of the population but upwards of 60% of the arable land.

Recent political events, however, have created a very different set of opportunity costs. The Chinese acquisition of Tibet in 1959 and the resultant flight of tens of thousands of Tibetans to India has had a major impact on Nepalese border areas such as Limi. The effects of these international events on Limi are far too complicated to discuss in depth here, but some comment must be made because some of the changes have led to increased family fission which has produced an increasing rate of population growth which in turn threatens both the economic and environmental stability of the area.

Traditional trade in Limi was centered on Tibet and the Nepalese and Bhotia people who live in the Humla Valley south of Limi. There was no trade with India and Kathmandu. Post-1959 Chinese policies in Tibet changed this by ending the laissez-faire policy of the traditional Tibetan government under which Limi people could trade in Tibet when, where and with whomever they pleased. The Chinese restricted trade to officially designated Trade Marts and then only with government personnel in government shops. Concomitantly, a new market emerged in India. The presence of thousands of Tibet refugees in India triggered an upsurge of interest in Tibetan culture and as an off-shoot, a demand for Tibetan jewelry and artifacts among Westerners. It also opened a new market for the wooden eating bowls traditionally made in Limi but previously sold entirely in Tibet.

As this trade developed, it very quickly became apparent that profit from the sale of artifacts and jewelry not only was very great but required little initial capital. Such items could be purchased in Tibet at relatively low prices during the summer months and then carried to India and Kathmandu during the winter. Parallel to this, the post-1959 years saw the value of the wooden bowls made in Limi increase greatly as the wealth of the Tibetans in India and Kathmandu increased. In 1976, for example, the profit from the yearly bowl output of one person when converted to the amount of grain it could purchase, was equal to the grain yield from the average amount of land held by lower strata peasant families (the "mi-re").

Another consequence of the Chinese control of Tibet was the sudden influx of inexpensive or even free animals. After 1959, a substantial number of Tibetan nomads from just north of the Limi-Tibet border fled into Nepal bringing their herds of yak and sheep. Since these animals could not survive well in the next eco-zone reasons, these nomads generally sold their herds for whatever they could get. Sheep, for example, sold at that time for 12-13 rupees (today an adult sheep in Limi sells for almost three hundred rupees). Animals that could not be sold were often simply abandoned.

This opportunity enabled a number of younger brothers to acquire enough animals (e.g. 30-40 sheep and 5-6 yaks) so as to reduce the opportunity costs of going it alone and lessen the threat of a bad winter bankrupting them. It also greatly expanded the size of the Limi herds and is an important factor in the current economic success of the area.

Given these new opportunities, it is not surprising to find that roughly 25% of the younger brothers in Tsang actually left their natal family corporations and established neolocal independent family units during the period from 1960-1970. This defection brought females into the reproductive pool who otherwise would have been excluded and is playing a major role in stimulating noticeable population growth. If this pattern continues or becomes exacerbated, fraternal polyandry could be further reduced and Limi could very well undergo population growth which would seriously alter its delicate economic-environmental balance and result in serious environmental degradation. There is already some evidence that this is occurring with respect to the pasture areas and forest land. The real

question concerning the future of Limi, then, is whether this is a temporary expansion of population due to the short term emergence of new resources and opportunities, or whether it is the beginning of a new pattern of marriage, family and reproduction. If it is the latter, then the economic future of Limi is dubious indeed.

CONCLUSION

A basic goal for anthropologists working in the Himalayas in the coming years must be to provide data regarding the manner in which different populations are socially and ecologically adapted to their environments and the dynamics of the change process they are undergoing. An understanding of these is a prerequisite for the satisfactory planning of optimum development with sustained yields since developmental planning must take into account not only "technical" feasibility but also "social-cultural" feasibility. The complex nature of the interplay of social, economic and ecological variables in the on-going process of change and adaptation have been briefly illustrated in this paper via a discussion of the conditions under which fraternal polyandry is selected and rejected and the consequences of its rejection for population growth and, ultimately, the quality of life and environment.

With respect to polyandry, this paper has argued that whenever resources or opportunities become available which do not require heavy input of ready capital and which, for an individual, holds open the promise of becoming a person of substance and standing in the community, younger siblings will defect from polyandrous marriage in significant numbers. Population growth, therefore, will increase since more females of reproductive age will be placed in roles of high conception risk. Traditionally, this functioned as a type of negative feedback pattern which could quickly expand or contract population growth depending on type and availability of productive resources. Limi is currently undergoing the expansion phase of this cycle and, as mentioned above, the critical question is whether the fissiparous tendencies will become exacerbated with even further new inputs. Tourism, e.g., looms as one such conceivable new input since the completion of the STOL airport at Simikot reduces the trip to Limi by about 10 days. Tourism in sizable numbers could stimulate further defections from polyandry since it would create new jobs (such as cook, porter, guide) that

require no capital but could be profitable. While other projected advantages of tourism in areas such as Limi might override the negative consequence of increased population growth, if it is to be encouraged, plans should be developed to accommodate the anticipated population increase. For example, efforts could be made to increase the amount of cultivated agricultural land by improving and expanding irrigation canals, or local personnel could be trained in family planning methods. The latter is not far fetched for there is considerable interest in Limi in regulating the number and birth-space of children.

In conclusion, this paper has tried to illustrate, very cursorily to be sure, the efficacy of using decision-making and micro-systems approaches and has tried to illustrate how such a combined approach is efficacious for understanding on-going social dynamics and for permitting informed assessment of the consequences of planned and unplanned system inputs.

FOOTNOTES

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2. See Goldstein, 1975 for an overview of Limi Panchayat.
3. The discrepancy between 20 polyandrous marriages and 23 females is explained by the presence of three marriages which consist of two or more brothers and two wives.
4. These averages are somewhat lower than the total average in Tsang, 3.3, because a number of dubious cases (with respect to polyandry vs. monogamy) have been excluded.
5. There is however, no cultural prohibition of polygyny and it does occur in Tibetan society, albeit infrequently.

6. See Goldstein, 1971, 74, 75, 76 for more detailed discussions of polyandry.

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ecological constraints on trans-himalayan trade in nepal

Andrew E. Manzardo

Anthropologists have long recognised that economic organization is closely correlated with social relations, and it is therefore appropriate to consider the extent to which the type of trade so far described presupposes or conditions certain types of social structure. In doing so we are immediately faced by the question whether the pursuance of trade as a central economic activity produces certain social attitudes and arrangements, or whether people motivated by a specific outlook on life are more likely to achieve success in trading than communities conditioned by a different ideology (Fúrer-Haimendorf, 1975:287).

Dr. Haimendorf has presented in the above quote a succinct statement of one of the crucial theoretical questions in the anthropological study of trade, namely whether trade as an economic activity produces certain social arrangements, or whether a "specific outlook on life" produces success in trade. The problem of course goes beyond trade into the basic question of the inter-relationship between the form of a culture and the necessity of adapting to the restraints of the characteristics of the natural milieu; Haimendorf unquestionably favors explanations which are weighted toward the imposition of strictly cultural factors which he terms "outlook".

The concept of "social outlook" is a term which though seeming to explain everything, really explains nothing, if for no other reason than that one might ask how this "outlook" comes about. One, then, has to search farther than "outlook" to find a proper context for the study of trade in the Himalayas.

The reliance on trade as "a central economic activity" must be questioned at the start. All of the groups which Haimendorf mentions are farmers and keep animals in addition to being traders. The degree to which members of each of these groups relied on trade was by no means homogenous, and today many of these groups have altogether abandoned this trade. While some families of the Thakalis and the Sherpas (two of the most successful trading groups) were large-scale traders who devoted all of their time to trade, others continued to be full-time farmers or keepers of animals.

Even within single successful trading families not all members were traders, with some members devoting most of their time to other activities. Other groups mentioned traded only part of the year- so one must look upon trade as "a central activity" as being an ill-defined concept within the Himalayan context.

Haimendorf states that all Bhotia groups including the Sherpa have a "social system which allows wide scope for individual choice both in economic activities and the ordering of social relations" (Furer-Haimendorf, 1975:287). This is of course true, but it by no means reflects on the source of these features of the social system. One of the most important elements noted by Haimendorf is freedom from joint family control, but this is not a simple issue.

Although independence is encouraged, particularly through assuring each son's right to a share of the parental property, even if his activities differ greatly from the parent, it must be noted that this is common Hindu practice and is presently the legal norm in Nepal. Haimendorf's example might just as well encourage one to go into farming or work as a mountain guide as well as a trader.

The author's own work among the Thakali shows an even greater encouragement of independence. The Thakali originated in the Kali-Gandaki valley, about 250 km. northwest of Kathmandu, and lived at an altitude of about 8,000 ft. Since the trade across the northern border of Nepal was severely restricted in the early 1960's, this group has migrated mostly to urban and semi-urban areas in central and western Nepal, as well as continuing to inhabit and expand former trade outposts in smaller towns on western Nepalese primary, secondary and tertiary trade routes¹.

Thakali informants claim that inheritance most closely follows a system common to the west, namely that the parent is free to leave property to any or all children as he sees fit. This leaves the son in an uncertain position in regard to his patrimony and encourages him to set off on his own at an early age, knowing that if he does well, he will be encouraged and aided by his parent.* Coupled with this is the institution of dhikur (see Messerschmidt, 1973) a rotating credit system which provides capital for starting on new business ventures; in some cases independent of the parents, as well as the extended family, in others with the parent as one of many investors. The independence of Thakali women in business

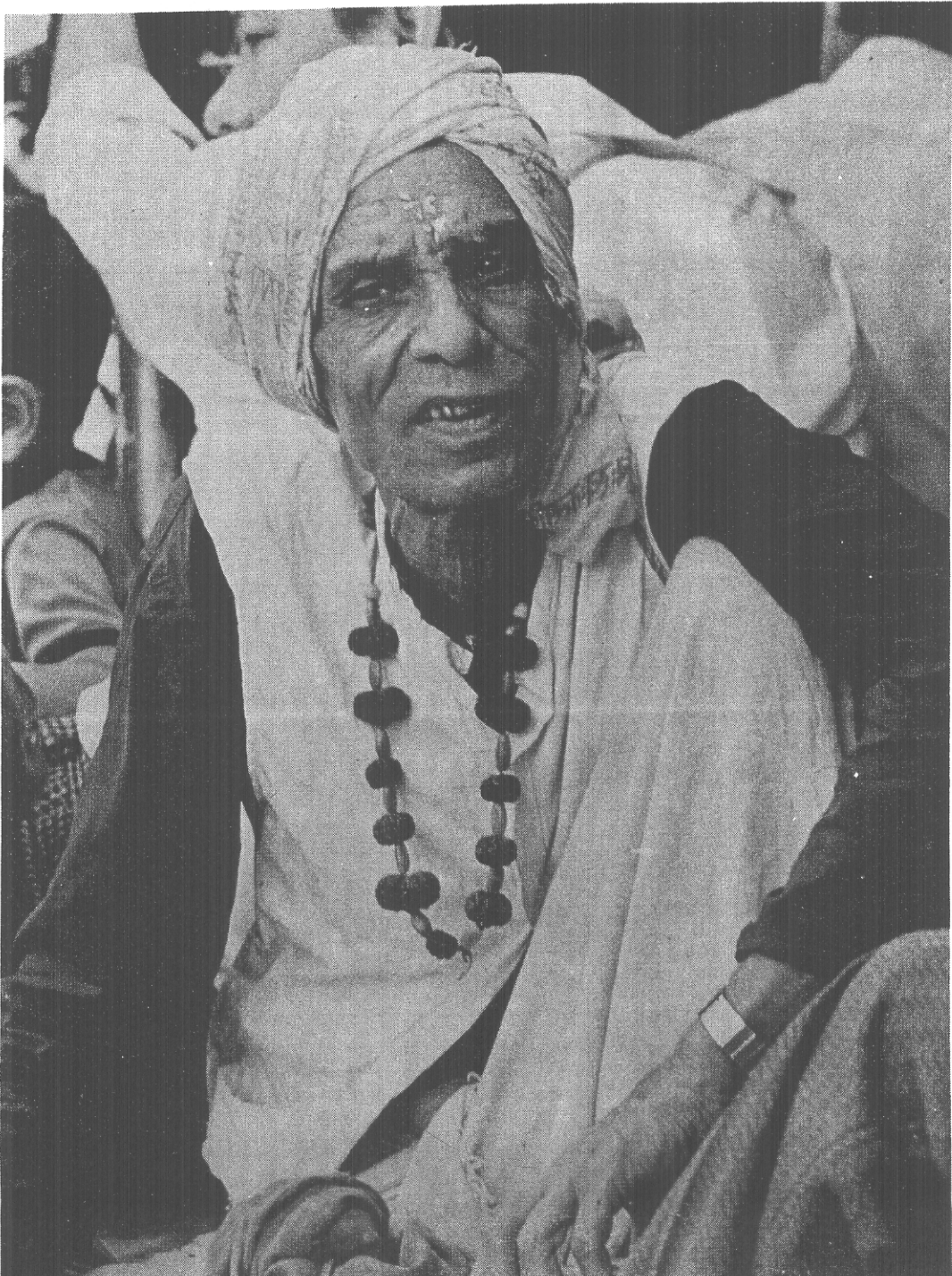
* See note bottom page 79.

has been often noted as well (cf. Haimendorf, 1975:288, Okada, 1970:74 and Manzardo, 1976:2) setting up temporary inns (bhattis) along major trade routes and more permanent hotels in areas frequented by tourists (but in some of these cases the entire family, including the men take part in running the establishment).

The Sherpas have drastically cut their reliance on trade in recent years and have turned instead to tourism and mountaineering as their major sources of income (this has been very well described by Furer-Haimendorf in 1975:60-92). The Thakali as mentioned have been forced to drop their trans-Himalayan trade as well because of political events, yet the Thakali continue to trade in the lower hills and Tarai of Nepal as sellers and transporters of cloth, grain and other commodities. In order to facilitate their trade in the more competitive large bazaars such as Pokhara and Bhairawa, the Thakalis have formed protective societies (see Manzardo and Sharma, 1975) which place them in a position to compete against Newar and Marwari merchants in those areas. In addition, the Thakali outside of their home area in the upper Kali-Gandaki area, have begun to turn nominally to Hinduism. The history of this religious transformation has been discussed to some extent in Manzardo and Sharma, 1975, as well as in Bista, 1971, but essentially what happened is that Thakalis, beginning with Bal Bir Serchan in 1854, began to ally themselves with the central government in Kathmandu, gradually pulling themselves out of the zone of Tibetan cultural influence and hence Buddhism and more greatly identifying themselves with the Hindu Ranas. This gradually brought about certain reforms (notably the banning of the consumption of yak meat, identifying it with beef) which led to a growth in Hinduism. This identification with Hinduism is by no means uniform and certainly above Lete (in Mustang district, along the Kali-Gandaki) Buddhism is still influential².

I bring up the question of Hinduism because Furer-Haimendorf's argument hinges on the effect of Hinduism on success in trade. Haimendorf feels that the "outlook" of the community determines its viability as traders. Assuming for the moment that the Sherpa and the Thakali were Buddhist at the time when trade was most active and that the Thakali acceptance of Hinduism was merely a later accommodation to the Hinduism of their new neighbors, Haimendorf feels that their Buddhist "outlook" allowed them to enjoy:

a freedom from the crippling restrictions which might impede relations with trading partners. Not bound by dietary taboos, or the ban on interdining with persons classed as socially inferior, he can accept hospitality wherever he goes and entertain in his own house anyone whose custom may be economically advantageous. On his far flung journeys he has not to confine himself to the type of food permitted by the rules of his caste, and can seek shelter wherever convenient without having to fear pollution by persons of lower ritual status (Furer-Haimendorf, 1975: 288-289).





A Thakali Buddhist Trungpa in Pokhara.

It is here that we come to the heart of the matter. Is it Hinduism that is the essential factor determining the success or failure of a group as traders, or are there perhaps other less obvious factors at work? In other words, are the effects of "specific outlook" more apparent than real? In order to approach this question let us look at how essential Haimendorf considers this outlook is to the existence of trading groups. Haimendorf discusses groups of Hindu Thakuris and Matwali Chhetris who live and trade side-by-side with the Bhotia populations living in Humla. He mentions that their skill in animal husbandry and their handling of pack animals does not differ markedly from that of the Bhotias. What he does not mention is how these traders overcome their "crippling restrictions", nor whether these restrictions have any effect on their trade whatsoever. He does note, however, that neither the Bhotias of the region nor the Hindus are true "mercantile entrepreneurs". The fact that the trade is not as profitable as that of the Thakali says nothing about the skill of either group and if anything their survival in the area points to some measure of success, for unlike the Kali-Gandaki valley, there is no proximity to large markets and the passage is far from easy. Yet, he feels that the Hindu adoption of the trading pattern of their Bhotia neighbors (itself a moot point) does not invalidate the hypothesis. We'll leave the point for now, but it is essential.

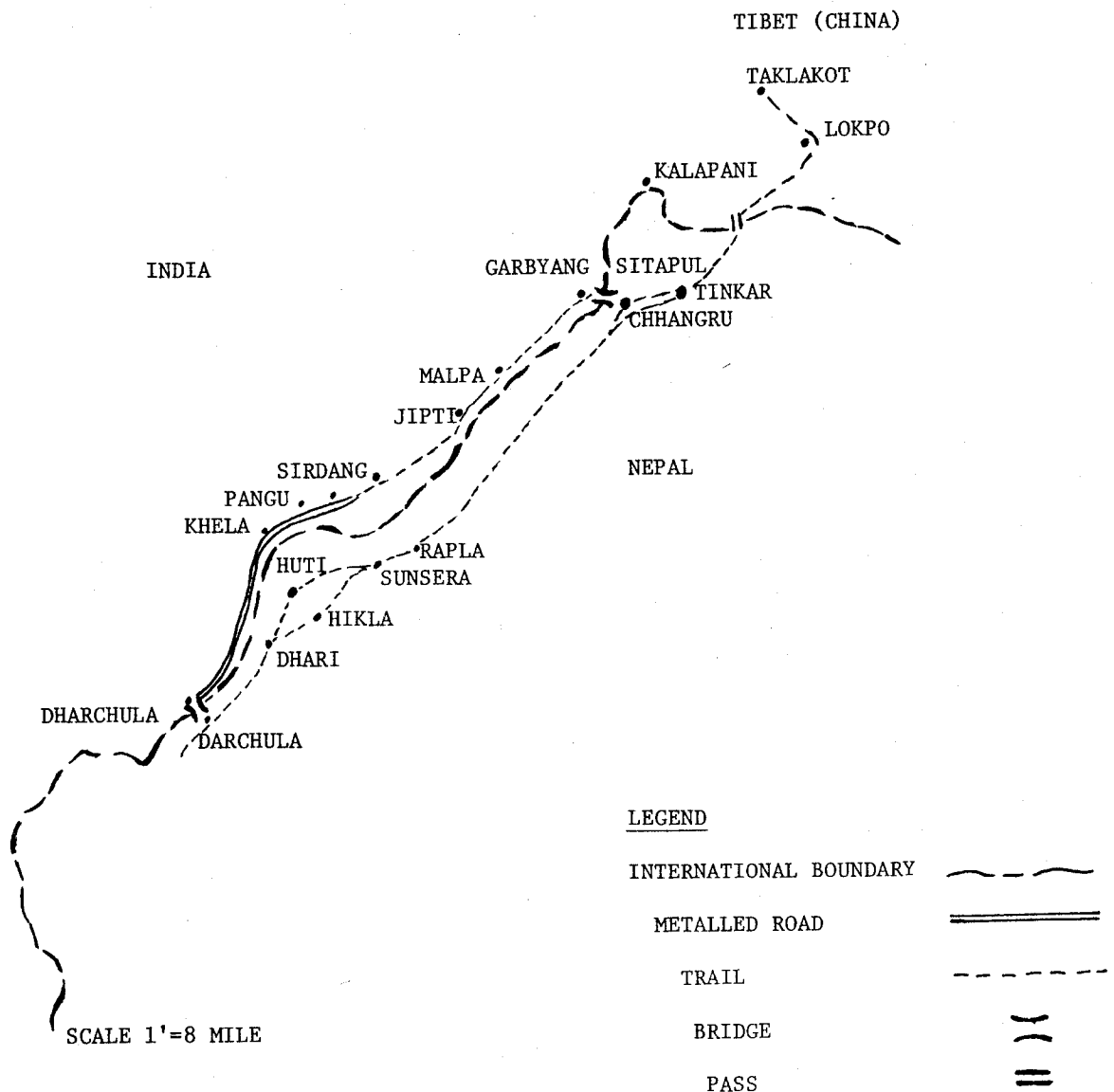
A Thakali sadhu or Hindu ascetic in Pokhara.

A similar situation exists in Darchula in far western Nepal, as well, where the Byanshi, a group which fits Haimendorf's classic pattern of a trading group, except for the fact that it claims to be Hindu (c.f. Manzardo, Rai, Dahal, 1976:83-118) and has been Hindu for some time. Several other nearby high caste Hindu groups also undertake trans-Himalayan trade going to such areas as Taklakot to trade the same goods as the Byanshi along what is generally the same route. The Byanshi, even though they are what Dr. Haimendorf would call Bhotia³ are still Hindus and in spite of their Hindu "outlook" are quite successful traders. The other Hindu groups are failing to a certain extent.

At first glance, a purely cultural argument could be made, stating that in spite of the Byanshis' nominal Hinduism (which does differ markedly from the Hinduism of the high caste traders) the basic cultural elements of the Bhotias (or Buddhists, if you will) which allow maximum cultural flexibility remain, hence giving the Byanshi the advantage. The Byanshi do retain some of the features noted in both Thakali and Sherpa society, namely the nebulous freedom from joint family control as nuclear families are formed at marriage through neolocal marriage patterns, women are encouraged to create their own sources of income and larger than family cooperative ventures are formed. The Byanshi, in spite of the fact that they live in nuclear families, tend to re-form the extended family for purposes of trade. Members of the extended family will cooperate by pooling both animal and financial resources for the purpose of launching a successful trading expedition. All members of the extended family will sometimes invest money on a single venture and even though the initial investments might differ radically in amount, after the expedition, after each member's initial investment has been recovered, what remains is shared equally. This therefore makes it possible for poorer members of an extended family to make a larger profit and thus paradoxically allows him a greater financial independence from the extended family in the future. Although these nuclear families are separate economic entities, the extended family's flocks are kept together as well.

This demonstrates that flexibility can be achieved by more than one means. Actually what gives the Byanshi the advantage is a totally different set of outside circumstances. There are essentially two routes from

the market town of Darchula-Kalenga to Taklakot (see map below). One route, (the easier route) crosses into India to Garbyang and returns through Nepal at Sitapul to the north. On this route the road is wide and can accommodate yak-cattle hybrids (dzoba) and other large animals (such as mules). The other route remains on the Nepal side, going through Rapla directly to Chhangru. North of Rapla, the road becomes difficult and can only accommodate a single line of sheep. The route through India traverses a military restricted zone, and access is difficult to obtain.



The Indian authorities allow the Byanshi to use the easier route because their homeland lies in the rainshadow north of the Himalayas and because they must transport many of their household items south in the winter to avoid the cold and again north in the summer to utilize their agricultural land. The route through Nepal is too small to permit the transport of the migrant's goods, therefore the Indians allow the use of the restricted route. This is at least the given reason. The Byanshi take advantage of this privilege and use this route for trade with Tibet, since it is often difficult to distinguish household goods and grain from trade goods. The high caste Hindu traders who live south of the Himalayas are unable to use this route at all. These traders are therefore forced to take the less profitable route and hence are falling behind. Thus the cultural argument masks a less apparent, but more satisfactory economic explanation.

Byanshi traders are successful in spite of their Hinduism and this leads one to think that either the problem of pollution is not as essential to the matter as Haimendorf feels, or that the Hinduism of the traders is not as rigid as Haimendorf feels it to be. More information on the trading behavior of the Humla Thakuris would be essential to this discussion, but since this is not available let us return to the trading Hindus (non-Byanshi) in Darchula. The author and his co-worker (a Rai, a Hindu of lower caste standing than his hosts) visited a family of these traders in Hikla Panchayat and although they were not given access to the hearth (chulo), they were entertained by the family and slept in the house on many occasions. This example was repeated in other houses as well and even though it doesn't answer whether the adoption of the trading adaptation creates the relaxed atmosphere (for when something is essential, even in a strict Hindu situation, ways can be found to do them and still maintain purity) or whether the basic system is less rigid than Haimendorf feels it to be, the result is the same. Correct trading behavior can be maintained and to my feeling, by Dr. Haimendorf's own example, maintained successfully whether in a Buddhist or Hindu social system. One finds a strong emphasis on northern trade in the literature on trans-Himalayan trade, but there is seldom any emphasis placed on the southern sectors of the trade. With the Thakali wool trade for example, the northern aspects (i.e. the Tibetan sector) have been well covered and much discussion of Tibetan trading methods has been produced. For example:

Those Sherpas and Bhotias who travelled widely in Tibet were accustomed to a system of hospitality ideally suited to the needs of long distance traders not only in need of shelter in an inclement climate but dependent for their business on relationships of personal trust established by occasions for conviviality. They maintained this same tradition in their houses and dispensed hospitality not only to further their business contacts but also as a means of building up their social prestige (Fürer-Haimendorf, 1975:289).

This is an accurate analysis of Tibetan and Bhotia business practice in Tibet, but to a certain extent it is a statement of business practice in general and the fact remains that the entrepreneur was a middleman between two disparate economic zones and the second southerly zone is Hindu. The Sherpa, Thakali or Byanshi trader must therefore trade with Hindus, where in spite of the more egalitarian qualities of Buddhist fellowship, the problems of pollution do enter and the man who can pass himself off as having some Hindu status has a marked advantage. In the middle hills the Thakali attempts at achieving this Hindu status now begins to make sense. The Byanshi adoption of Hinduism also makes sense, for the Buddhists in Taklakot will accept them, even if they are Hindu (especially if that Hinduism is not particularly rigid), but as Hindus, these traders have an advantage in the south.

The Thakali sold wool to the Ludhiyana Punjabis and bought grain from the Chhetris (high caste Hindus) in the middle hills. Here trust, social prestige and conviviality were necessary as well, but the rules were different and the trading system was adapted to fit the needs of the situation. If the Thakalis were unable to sleep in the houses of their trading partners, they built bhattis; particularly in the more important trading towns such as Baglung, Tatopani, Birethanti and Pokhara. These bhattis are not the temporary structures described by Haimendorf, but rather are substantial houses, many of which have been standing for three generations or more. These houses were built initially to house the traders on their journeys outside of Thak Kholā. If trading partners were difficult to deal with, this was solved by having a Thakali male live permanently in the bhatti, nominally running small store on the premises, but actually acting as a trading agent for the larger more mobile traders travelling on the road. This "shopkeeper" became part of the local town, partaking in all local activities and following local customs. He usually adopted the local religion as well⁴.



A Thakali woman and her older sister's daughter taken on the porch of her house and bhatti in Ulla Sikka.

All of the elements of conviviality described by Haimendorf were undertaken by this agent on a daily basis. His bhatti became a social focal point, with members of all castes (usually at different times of the day) coming to drink tea or liquor and discuss their problems, tell jokes or seek help (often financial). Goods were sold on credit, but the store was usually of secondary importance and often concealed the warehouse of the large-scale trade. At harvest time, the bills were collected in the form of grain and the traders came through and collected it. The prestige of the local trader rubbed off (halo effect) on any of the local trader's honored guests (usually the Thakali long-distance trader). Hence, even in a very different social system, the trader can be successful. Most essential to the argument, however, is that what is an advantage in one social system is not necessarily an advantage in another and the dual nature (two ecological zones, two culture systems) must always be kept in mind.

Let us return to an essential point that we have left hanging, namely the adoption of the Bhotia trading patterns by the Thakuris and Matwali traders of Humla. The essential point of the argument is here and with talk of "cultural outlooks", the thread of the argument has been lost in Haimendorf. In the beginning of the

chapter, Haimendorf presents an ecological argument which if taken up without side issues provides the answer to a good many questions:

The dependence of the Bhotias of the Himalayan highlands is neither of their own choosing nor is it the result of historic accident. A self-contained peasant economy based on agriculture and animal husbandry could not be sustained by the natural resources of valleys lying above 10,000 feet, and even below that level larger concentrations of populations could grow only where the income from trade supplements the yield from subsistence farming (Fürrer-Haimendorf, 1975:286).

From this statement we must assume that the Matwali Chhetri and the Thakuri are traders, not because they wish to imitate the Bhotias, but because they must be traders in order that they may continue to live in the region. This means that trade, even in this very difficult area is a matter of survival not temperament. Since the groups have survived, we must assume even without data, that the group has been able to overcome any limitations placed on it by any caste-purity requirements. Further proof for an ecological basis for the trading adaptation comes from the examples of the Thakali and the Byanshi. The Thakali lived at an altitude of just over 8,000 feet, but they lived in the arid Himalayan rainshadow. As a consequence, in spite of two crops a year, they were unable to provide sufficient food for their own yearly needs. The Gurungs of Parbat, however, living between 5,000 and 7,000 feet, inhabit a region south of the rainshadow and even though they are close to the Thakali both culturally and linguistically in many ways, they were able to produce sufficient food and never became traders. The Byanshi of Tinkar and Chhangru (the Byanshi trading groups of Nepal) live at 13,000 feet for part of the year and produce only one crop of buckwheat. These populations resort to trade to supplement their income. Byanshi living at Rapla (roughly 7,000 feet) however, are able to produce enough food each year and although they are thought to belong to the same ethnic group, they are not traders. Therefore, we can assume that there is an element of necessity in the trade adaptation⁵.



Two Byanshi traders setting out their wares in Dhap in Darchula District.

As to the success of groups as traders and to the size and nature of their enterprises, this is merely a matter of access and control of good trade routes and good markets. If a road is not good, and a better road exists, the skill of local traders will not keep trade travelling along the bad road for very long⁶. Trade obviously tends to go along the easiest routes to the best markets, if one has control of that route, one becomes a large scale entrepreneur, if one does not, one remains small no matter how skillful. The Thakali put much effort into obtaining monopolistic rights over the Kali-Gandaki trade route during the Rana period for just this reason (c.f. Manzardo, Sharma, 1975). The recent advantage of the Byanshi over the high caste Hindu traders in Darchula is another case in point.

The question of the role played by ecological and geographic factors is also relevant to Haimendorf's next question:

Yet there remains a problem to be solved. In the conduct of their trans-Himalayan trade Sherpas, Bhotias, Thakalis and Taralis alike have depended not only on the salt provided by their Tibetan partners but equally on the grain they bought from the cultivators of Nepal's middle hills, be they Rais, Magars or Chetris ... why, we might ask

are there no Rai merchants who buy up the rice of their village and deal with the great traders of Namche on equal terms, and why have Chetri counterparts of the merchant princes of Tukuche not monopolized the grain trade in the lower Kali-Gandaki valley (Fürer-Haimendorf 1975:290).

The author rejects Dr. Haimendorf's analysis, namely that societies which place a high premium on the ownership of land leave little incentive for commercial activities, for the Thakalis themselves are often large landowners and the Hindus are by no means landed gentry, but engage in many commercial activities such as stores and trade and transport on secondary trails in the lower hills. There is no feeling of trade being somehow a distasteful activity. Nor do the networks of caste and family obligations present a threat, rather they are a potential network of contacts and trusted allies for the furthering of trade (as demonstrated by the Thakali maintenance of such networks) within the geographical limits of these social networks. It is merely a question, rather, of such a grain monopoly not being profitable enough in the lower hills to be worth the effort. In the case of the Thakalis, grain is gathered from many places in the hills. If a local Chhetri gathers all the grain from one locality and raises the price, the Thakalis simply don't buy from him and the local merchant is forced to find a place to store his surplus (a costly undertaking where land and building material are in short supply and where the grain must be protected from vermin). Since this is not possible, the merchant may make a small profit, but not enough to be worth the effort of buying the grain. In order to extend his monopoly to a larger area, the merchant must pay for both storage and transport of the larger quantities of grain. This raises his costs and lowers his profits and if the Thakalis choose, they can buy elsewhere or not at all. The merchant in this case is soon bankrupt and the locals will not have trade goods and therefore will be hostile to him and again sell directly to the Thakali. In order to transport sufficient quantities of grain to matter, it is necessary for the merchant to have access to transport animals and here is where the crux of the ecological argument comes. The cost of human transport is greater than the cost of animal transport, yet the porter is a ubiquitous sight on trails in the middle hills. This is because there is little pasture space in this area. Local pasturage is utilized for goats, buffalo and cattle. Mules and horses are seldom kept. Sheep must be kept at high altitude and what few are

kept, in the Sikkha region for example (in Parbat district) are brought up to the Thakali pastures in the summer where they are kept for a fee. Since animal transport is unavailable locally, human transport must be used. If our hypothetical merchant gathered all the grain by human means, his price would be higher than the Thakali price gathering the same amount of grain by animal. Our merchant has no animals, hence he cannot compete. The Thakali have animals, because even though they have little cultivatable land, they have an abundance of pasturage (demonstrated by the fact that they rent it out). The advantage of the Thakalis and the Bhotia groups in general lies not in "social outlook", but in having access to trade routes and transport animals and the necessity of having to use both to survive. Our hypothetical merchant therefore lacks the means to use the trade route, even if he lives on it further to the south. Most important is that the greatest share of the profit in trade lies not in gathering the grain together, but in transporting it to where the market is paying a high price. Hence the merchant is trying to get a good price where the supply is high, while the Thakali, or Sherpa or Thakuri trader gets his high price where the supply is low and the demand high. The local Thakali merchant, however, is part of the trade network and therefore gets a share of the ultimate profit at the point of sale. The advantage of the Thakali therefore lies not in his independence, but rather in his linkages the very network that Haimendorf calls a disadvantage for the Hindu villager⁷.

Therefore, trading groups are ultimately a product of certain adaptations to ecological factors in the area in which the group is trying to survive. First, is the inability for the group to produce sufficient food within the area in which they are living. This necessitates creating, as it were, an income from the outside. One of the means of doing so is trade, but this is only possible where an economic differential (such as between Tibet and Nepal) exists and where there are definite markets and routes between them. When even one of these elements is missing, trade cannot exist and other solutions must be found⁸. These solutions are improvements in local agriculture, temporary migration (either long-term, such as joining the army or short-term, such as seeking temporary work elsewhere - c.f. Manzardo, Rai, Dahal: 1977) or permanent migration. Where the markets and roads are good, the profit is high and generally the capital base

of the group is large enough for high-risk activities to take place (see Manzardo, 1976), hence the group tends to become entrepreneurial. Where the markets are marginal or the routes difficult, the trading group remains as marginally small traders. In addition to and essential to this situation in the Himalaya, is the pairing of this agriculturally poor area with an area with high pastoral potential. This pairs the necessity to trade with the ability to trade larger amounts profitably. Without these animals, transport is expensive and the quantities small. It is these factors, rather than factors of "social outlook" that determine the success or failure of a group as long-distance traders, for each group adapts the advantages of its own social structure to the necessities of the way of life. This is particularly true in the Himalaya where trade takes place between two culture areas creating a necessity for the successful middlemen to take into account two sets of value systems.

FOOTNOTES

1. By a primary trade route, I mean one where main markets and entrepots are interconnected. One such route is the route between Jomosom and Butwal, along the Kali-Gandaki river in western Nepal. A secondary trade route connects smaller market towns where agricultural goods are collected and sent to entrepots in the primary route. Tertiary routes are likewise routes which connect the agricultural sources with the smaller market towns. The main indicators between these types of route are noticeable in differences in the size of loads, variety of goods carried in loads and the frequency of travel on the routes. c.f. Bista, 1971, Jest, 1966, Manzardo, 1976, Manzardo and Sharma, 1975 for further information on the Thakali.
2. Thakali lamas are to be found in Pokhara, but have little influence here. Their social influence begins to be felt in Parbat, where the Gurungs are nominally Buddhist as well. The lamas of this region are for the most part Panchgaunli (from a more traditionally Buddhist area just north of the Thakali homeland). In Thak Khola, several monasteries still exist, although for the most part they are little used. Hence there is an increase in Buddhist influence on a line extending from Pokhara to Mustang. Certain Thakali families

were more closely allied with the old trade monopolies, hence with the central government and Hinduism, but there is confusion, so one family in Jomosom has a house with Hindu artifacts, but the daughter is a Buddhist nun.

3. Groups are often termed "Bhotia" or "Bhotiya" in the literature to distinguish them from the Khasya groups which comprise the present high caste groups of the hills. The term "Bhotiya" is used to describe "Mongoloid Tibeto-Burman and culturally distinct people of the higher Himalayas" (Berreman, 1972:14). These groups should be distinguished from Bhote" which is a Nepali term for people specifically of Tibetan descent living in Nepal.
4. Both Buddhism and Hinduism seem to have been adopted for the sake of good relations with their neighbors. The essential nucleus of belief of the Thakali has always centered around ancestor cult practices and this remains unchanged in spite of great changes in both Hindu and Buddhist practice.
5. See Rai, Manzardo and Dahal 1976 for a discussion of this in terms of the high caste traders from Hikla. The Byanshi of Rapla do not intermarry with the Byanshi of Byans panchayat, to our knowledge, hence strengthening the theoretical relationship between marriage and trade networks.
6. For a discussion of just such an attempt by the Gurungs to force a change in a local trade route see Messerschmidt and Gurung, 1974.
7. It must be noted that even though the present tense has been used for convenience in the discussion of Thakali salt grain trade, the trade has been discontinued. Hence our merchant cannot even begin.
8. An exception to this model is the Newars, a group of traders originating in the Kathmandu valley, found today throughout the hills and Tarai of Nepal. There are both Hindu and Buddhist members in this group and far from being marginal agriculturally, this group has, in the valley at least, the richest farmland in Nepal's hills. The Newars, however, are a highly urbanized group and as usual, ecological models break down once urbanization cuts the tenuous link between man and his environment. As Haimendorf points out, however, the Newars do not

undertake strenuous trans-Himalayan trade expeditions and prefer to run semilinked retail establishments, both in the primary bazaar towns such as Doti, Pokhara, Narayanghat, Dhankuta and so on, or in secondary bazaars which are supplied from the primaries. Large traders exist, but these prefer to speculate in commodities either in Kathmandu or in the trade between India and Nepal, i.e. the largest markets. Haimendorf also points out that competition between Newars and Thakalis usually results in the Thakali gaining the advantage, but again this is not due so much to "social outlook" as to differences in business practice due to the differences in both the origins of the trade adaptation and the reason for continuing trade. The Newar businessman is used to the individual competition of the large bazaar market, while the Thakali tend to co-operate with each other to a large extent, forming organizations of self-regulation such as the Thakali Social Reform Organization (see Manzardo and Sharma, 1975). This banding together on the part of the Thakali represents a strengthening of the middle hills sector of their old trade network, using traditional means of organization to improve their competitive advantage. This was made necessary by the Thakali having to abandon their old trade patterns and in effect follow their old network south, migrating to a point where they could make a living (see Manzardo 1976). Individual Newar families, however, still tend to compete with each other, operating on a local, retail level and therefore do not have the complex linkages between wholesale, transport and retail possessed by the Thakali. Hence in the competitive situations found in places like Pokhara, Baglung, Galkot and Birethanti, the Newars have either lost out or are fighting a losing battle. Hence even in this case, the "social outlook" argument is not convincing, even though an ecological argument is not sufficient.

*Author's note: Subsequent research has shown that the most common form of inheritance among the Thakali is the "equal shares for all male heirs" system, the most prevalent form in Nepal.

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of people and naks: the management and meaning of high altitude herding among contemporary solu sherpas

Kathryn S. March

High altitude herding remains an integral part of contemporary Solu Sherpa life. In spite of romanticists who would imply that herding is disappearing from their way of life and of critics who argue that Solu Sherpas are not 'real' herding-farming Sherpas, Solu Sherpas are not abandoning pastoralism to become exclusively agricultural by any means. With initial capital investment and proper personnel within the family, high altitude herding is an eminently profitable and viable enterprise in Solu. Moreover, it is an activity with great cultural and social significance in a symbolic universe where the prosperity and health of the herds becomes a way to speak about that of humans.

This paper will first examine the economic and management aspects of high altitude herding in Solu¹. In particular, the daily labor and personnel requirements and the diversity, value and distribution, as well as seasonal variations and movements, will be discussed with reference to the types of pastoralism currently widely practiced. But herding is more than purely economic activity to Sherpas. It is tied throughout to the life of the village and its inhabitants, not only through the sale of its products but also by important ritual activities. This paper will, therefore, also present several examples of the ritual and symbolic value of the herds.

The nature of the Solu environment, in which great altitude changes occurring over short distances juxtapose climatically very different eco-zones, opens four herding possibilities to Solu Sherpas.

The first, and least important, is the keeping of water buffalo at altitudes below that of the village. When this first option is exercised, it appears to be primarily as a means of supplementing household dairy products, not for the profit from their sale. In this way it is most like the second possibility, which is almost universally relied upon. This is the keeping of some cattle especially cows, bulls, shaksum and shaksa (female and male or crosses, several steps away from yaks in the direction of traditional cows and bulls) in the vicinity of the village itself. These animals are sent out to graze daily but are stabled at the homestead each night. They provide dairy products for

household use and, perhaps more importantly, fertilizer for village fields.

Villagers who do not own cattle themselves undoubtedly consume far fewer dairy products, purchased from those who have a surplus. No one, however, can do without manure for their fields, so they must negotiate to obtain it. The most common practice is for the cattle-less household to offer the straw from their wheat crop in exchange for having someone else's cattle stabled on their land for periods from a few days to several weeks or even months, depending upon their bargaining ability and the quantity of straw they have. Houses in the village with cattle have difficulty providing adequate fodder for them through the winter months and so may have to stable them at one or more houses in order to accumulate sufficient reserves.

In addition to the fodder, these cattle are driven out each day to graze. Among the three types of land ownership found in Solu Sherpa communities--1) private (deeded and saleable) ownership of agricultural lands and homestead; 2) co-operative ownership of forest and pasture lands in the immediate vicinity of the village (deeded and shares saleable, but land parcel not divisible); 3) collective usufruct rights on high altitude pasturage in the name of the traditional village headman-- it is upon lands of the second sort that the village-stabled cattle are put to graze. These co-operatively owned lands may be purchased by any groups of individual heads of households, each of whom has contributed equally toward the purchase price. The size and composition of the group can vary from a few, generally the more wealthy, to many, and in one case to nearly sixty households drawn from three neighboring villages, buying as much land as possible².

Neither of these two forms of lower altitude herding are in any way ritually significant. In this way they are very different from and perhaps ideologically negligible by comparison to the two forms of high altitude herding.

Solu Sherpas recognize two distinct types of high altitude pastoralism: dzum3goThe⁴ and nak5goThe. Both can be highly profitable enterprises and partake of the same ritual significance. But since there are important differences in their output and management, I will first discuss them separately before dealing with their joint symbolic universe.

Dzum gothes are more numerous in Solu than nak gothes. Dzum produce the most dairy products, which are in high demand and easily marketed in Solu. Any surplus not sold in the villages of the herd owners themselves can be sold any Saturday at the weekly market just south of Phaplu and Salleri (formerly in Dorpu and still often referred to by that name), where each week hundreds of people come from up to a day's walk to buy, trade and sell. Among the products of the dzum gothe which are the most marketable and the range of prices they brought in 1975-76 are:

48-65 Rs./ <u>dharni</u>	butter (<u>maar</u>)
10 Rs./ <u>dharni</u>	<u>serkam</u> (a kind of cottage cheese)
3-5 Rs./ <u>mana</u>	<u>chhurbi</u> (dried <u>serkam</u>)

In addition they produce and can/will/but usually do not sell:

40 Rs/ (biscuit) tin	curds (<u>sho</u>)
1½-2 Rs./bottle	milk (<u>woma</u> or 'oma)
ca. 1 Rs./bottle	whey/buttermilk (<u>taar</u>)
1 Rs./handful	butter-skim (rhim--forms on boiled milk)
30 Rs./ <u>dharni</u>	<u>shoshim</u> (putty-like semi-dehydrated milk coating which will form on the inside of the wooden milking bucket if not cleaned after each milking)
not sold--special gift	<u>shomaar</u> (cooked down <u>shoshim</u>)

To make all these products at least one, and usually two adults, plus, ideally, an additional child to herd, must constantly stay in the dzum gothe. In addition someone has to carry the dairy goods down from and foodstuffs and salt back up to the gothe frequently. A common arrangement is for a wife and her smallest children, who profit from the enhanced diet, as well as an older child, who helps with milking and herding, to stay in the gothe while the husband travels back and forth, managing the agricultural work at the homestead in between. Initially, the farm work may be done by hired hands or the husband's aging parents, but as the couple's children grow up they can contribute to and even totally take over the work in either the farm or gothe. In this way, it is not surprising to find two mature (married or unmarried) daughters of an older couple managing a dzum gothe alone, while their brothers assume the bulk of the agricultural work on what will

soon be divided as their own lands. A Sherpa gothe is never owned or managed by more than one nuclear family, although in times of labor shortage as while all the couple's children are very young or if the wife must return to the village for wedding or funeral, a near relative may come to stay and work.

The rhythm of daily life in the dzum gothe is dictated by dairy work. In the morning all the dzum must be milked, then the milk boiled and combined with a little bit of yesterday's whey to culture today's milk into tomorrow's curds, while the cows are driven out to pasture. Then butter must be churned from the previous day's curds. For this, Sherpas use a butter churn consisting of a large cylindrical wooden bucket and a plunger, similar to the butter churn familiar in the west, but unlike the paddle variety used by most groups in Nepal. By noon, the butter is out and they are ready to boil down the whey to make the serkam cheese. When it has clotted it will be strained and placed in a draining basket and the previous day's drained serkam will be broken or cut into small chunks and put in a rack over the fire to dry, to make chhurbi. By the time all this is done, the cows will be wandering in for their evening milking. They are fed salt and sometimes a little flour in the liquid left behind from the boiling off of the serkam clotted cheese. They are milked, and that milk, too, must be boiled and added to the morning's. It is an inflexible schedule, but one which can be fulfilled at a leisurely pace which, especially in conjunction with the abundance of dairy products to supplement the otherwise drab and protein-short diet of potatoes and boiled flour, makes life in the dzum gothe very desirable and pleasant⁶.

The size of the dzum herd is limited by the number of milking cows and their output that one herding outpost, its personnel and equipment can handle. Fifteen milking dzum appear to be the approximate optimum; less than ten is not sufficiently profitable; but more than twenty is too hard to manage. In addition, a single shaksa bull⁷ will be kept, but the calves are of no value, not allowed to nurse and die. Daily output from the minimal 10 dzum gothe during good, but not quite peak, milk producing months will commonly be about one dharni of butter and 4-5 manas of chhurbi (or $1\frac{1}{2}$ dharnis of serkam) plus milk, buttermilk, curds and other products for consumption by the gothe dwellers, or varying amounts of the other products depending upon demands. Slightly larger dzum gothes (12-17 milking

animals) gross a cash income of approximately 100 rupees a day and the very largest gothes could conceivably bring in up to some 150 rupees a day. Even considering the cost in capital investment (a single dzum in 1975-76 could cost 1800 Rs. when young and up to 2500 as a mature animal), and in personnel, it can be easily seen that the contemporary Solu dzum gothe is highly profitable.

Through the year the dzum gothe must move in pursuit of good grazing. Only over the 3 or 4 coldest months of the year do they stay in or near the village, but never lower than approximately 9300 feet. Over the late spring, summer and early fall, the gothe ranges gradually up the mountains to ca. 13,000-13,700 feet, then back down, stopping in as many as six different places for at least two weeks but never longer than 1 month in each place. Each gothe has a fixed route on which it returns each year to the same sites and sends its animals out to graze on the same pastures, on set areas of land over which the village from which it comes has rights. Each village, in addition to the village agricultural lands, and the nearby forest and pasture lands, will own high pasture lands. These high grazing lands are held under the third type of land-holding pattern mentioned above--in the name of the traditional village headman, or mur min. He is responsible for collecting and paying the taxes on those lands. Although any co-villager may station cattle there without question or charge, the mur min also has the right to dispense permission to graze there to Gurung sheepherders--and no one may interfere with his decisions. This can cause problems beyond the usual rivalry between sheep-and cattle-herders, especially, for instance, if the mur min does not himself keep cattle and is therefore rather more likely to be receptive to many Gurungs' requisitions, gifts and cash payments, thereby potentially straining the pasturage capacity of the area.

On this same type of high pasture, although generally slightly higher than the dzum, are the nak gothes. Like the dzum gothe, the nak too must shift to find good pasture, although they may not have to move as frequently. In fact, the nak gothe can function with only two pastures--a higher summer one for the six warmer months and a lower one for the colder half of the year. The nak gothe, then, may be a more substantial stone and wood structure; and moving between sites has more the character of a caravan since

the naks and yaks can also carry loads while dzum cannot.

The primary difference, however, between the dzum and nak gothe is that while the dzum produce only dairy products for sale, the nak gothe also sells calves and blankets. This diversification has important ramifications for sources of income, seasonal variations, labor needs, and herd size.

By crossing the nak with a dzolang, imported to the gothe for stud only, the herder gets dzum (female) and dzopkyok (male) calves. Both can be sold: the dzum to other herders for between 1800 and 2500 Rs. as mentioned above; the dzopkyok are used only as beasts of burden in Solu (although they could be used to plow and were/are in Tibet) so do not command such high prices, but even when very young bring in at least 500 Rs. each.

In addition, once a year, just before the nak are driven up to the higher pastures, the nak and yak are shorn. Since nak and yak are rather more skittish and unused to people than the other crosses, this is an exciting operation, which those who aren't accustomed to the ways of nak-yak find intimidating. The spinning and weaving of the wool into blankets may be done in the household owning the animals or it may be contracted out for a monthly fee. One 8 ft. by 5 ft. blanket, woven in eight strips, can be woven from the wool of four or five yak/nak. The finished blankets are extremely warm and durable and are in constant demand, fetching prices from 500 Rs. a coarser one woven of the outer hair to 700 Rs. for one of the finer undercoat. The more enterprising are said to get 1000 Rs. for one in India and even more astronomical figures are reported from the occasional western buyer.

These two activities overlay and significantly restructure the dairy production and labor requirements of the nak gothe. The fact that the wool is made into blankets and the calves are raised for sale introduces a seasonal pattern of peaks and slumps that is not present in the dzum gothe. For the first three months of their lives, the calves are allowed to nurse at will. After this they are gradually weaned. Although throughout much of the year this means that a single person (even an adolescent) can manage the nak gothe alone, at the time of weaning additional personnel is necessary, both to help in the now important dairy work and with

the young calves. Although nak butter (nai maar) is considered of the greatest ritual purity--and therefore sought especially by the higher lamas in the area--nak dairy production is always less than dzum. It takes fifteen nak to equal the output of ten dzum, and the peak of their production comes about a month later.

The range of dairy products is the same as in the dzum gothe, and at the time after the calves have been weaned, so is the daily routine and need for more labor, with two variations. The nak/yak do not have to be herded during the day as they stay together coming and going without the need for even the minimal supervision required for dzum. But the newly weaned calves must be fed on carefully cut grasses--a full-time job until they are sold. Similarly, the shearing is another peak time when additional workers must be called upon in the gothe.

On the other hand, the shift in emphasis from exclusively dairy work to include the sale of calves and blankets means that a larger herd is both possible and desirable. Herds of fifty or sixty producing up to fifty calves⁸ and 12-15 blankets each year are feasible though rare. Fewer than twenty naks, which is to say about sixteen calves and 4-5 blankets annually, is apparently sufficiently unprofitable that owners of such dwindled herds will forgo one year's income from the sale of calves in favor of allowing their yak to breed the naks and thus increase herd size.

In spite of these differences, the two types of high altitude pastoralism are alike in that both partake of the same ritual schedule. The rituals associated with the gothes may be roughly divided into three classes: 1) those which are performed daily, 2) those performed at the time of herd movements, and 3) those which are performed only once a year. All invoke local divinities for the protection of the herd and household.

The first, daily, ritual activity is simple. It consists merely of offering incense in the morning fire before cooking and a recitation, one variant of which is given in translation here:

Offering of the tardza⁹

From each and every place, the villages of far pilgrimages and near pilgrimages, this tardza

is offered to the spirits of the high cliffs of our birthplace and to the spirits of the waters of our birthplace. To people dwelling on the earth do not send suffering. Do not pollute our waters below. Do not disrupt our purity of mind, nor the cleanness of our lungs. So be it for each and all. This pure tardza is offered to the heavens and the firmament and the void. And so this pure tardza is raised toward the heavens. Thus it is. So be it. King of gods.

This simple prayer is based upon and also recited in the slightly larger ritual performed each time the gothe is moved, at which time an actual tardza is erected. Butter, milk (preferably from a red or white animal) and incense are again offered at a site near the gothe. Since the gothes return to the same sites year after year, the tardza accumulate, making the otherwise inconsequential pile of stones easily noticeable. These offerings are made to the regional divinities or country gods (yul lha). Of particular importance are a number of goddesses resident in prominent peaks within the triangular area bounded by Kathmandu (Nagarkot--visible from the highest ridges in Solu, especially at night when the lights stand out), Mt. Everest in Khumbu, and Salwa (a distinctively pointed peak to the east and slightly south). Among these goddesses are the well-known "long-life sisters" (Sherpa Tsering chhe-nga, Tibetan Tshe-ring mched-lnga). Even though to Solu Sherpas, ultimately, the yul lha of Numbur mountain and the goddess of Womi Tso are agreed to be the most important, the relative emphasis between the other country gods and goddesses (and even their names and number) varies. It may vary from gothe to gothe depending upon the area it moves in, but not from location to location for any one gothe in its annual movements. Thus the gothes on the slopes below the peak called (on the Thyssen map) Konyaklemo (13,989 ft) direct their worship primarily to the female divinity who resides there and whom they call Kwonye lyemu, saying that she is the most important to them. But the gothes on the slopes of the Womi Tso Himal claim ascendancy for the yul lha of Numbur and the goddess of the lake, Jomo Tungnug Karmu, directly and devote their attentions primarily there.

The most well-developed of the rituals which more or less marks the herds' departure for the highest pastures in the late spring and early summer is the kang sung. Although some of the dzum or nak herds may

depart before the actual ritual, after it none may return to the village until fall. By not applying to the cattle which are permanently kept in the village, however, this ban relegates those herds to symbolic insignificance. But the kang sung is far more than a public posting of a rule about crop-destroying animals in the village. The herds, their owners' families, household goods and lineage segment are symbolically classed together as the divinities' protection is invoked for all simultaneously. At the center of this cluster is the nak, which provides the symbolic focus for ritual signification and activity.

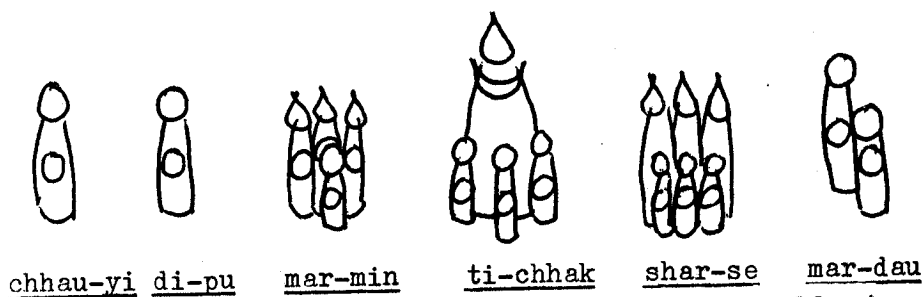
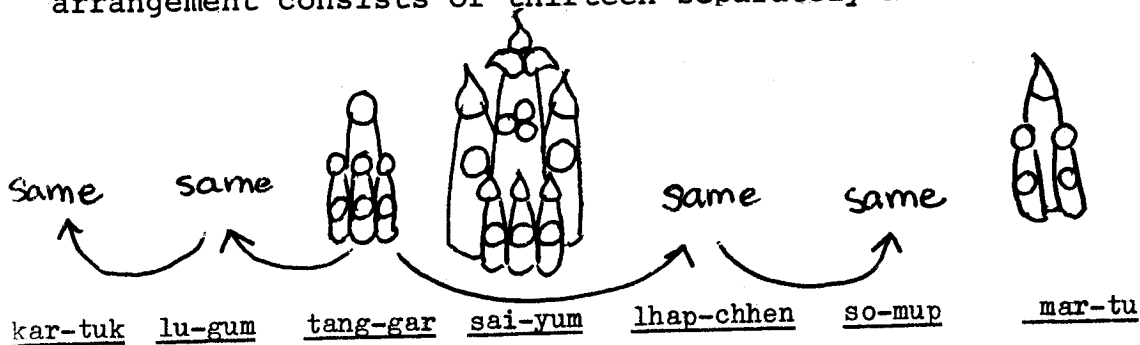
Kang sung may be performed at the village homestead or in the gothe. Not every household will perform kang sung, but a household need not concurrently own high altitudes herds in order to. In the village studies, however, every performing household in 1975-76 had at one time or another, if not then, owned a nak gothe.

Although not done IN every house, in any given village kang sung will ultimately be done FOR every household. Heads of households not performing kang sung will be invited to partake of the blessing of a kang sung done in the house of a close kinsman. Thus, in the village primarily studied, where there were three main lineages, at least one household from each lineage did kang sung. Lineage A, which consists of three aging brothers and their eight* adult sons, only three of whom had built their own separate residences, attended the kang sung in the house of the youngest of the original brothers. Four of the five (the fifth does not live in Solu) brothers of Lineage C, none of whom had sons living separately, were represented at the kang sung done in the house of the youngest of the original brothers. It is in Lineage C, however, that the role of this ritual in marking lineage fragmentation becomes most clear. Just as at one time, when the founders of all three Lineages A, B, and C were living brothers, only one kang sung was necessary for the households of all three brothers. After they died, their sons began to perform kang sung independently--in their separate houses with their sons. At present, the original brothers who were the sons of founder B are dead, so Lineage B is in the process of fragmenting further and establishing a number of new sublineages independent of one another. They are also beginning to perform separate kang sung for each of the new sublineages. In this way, then, X number of brothers performing kang sung separately are in effect signifying their separation

into X number of sublineages, although they will of course, continue to recognize their shared ancestry.

When kang sung is performed in the village it can become very involved, having in its most elaborated form three main aspects: the ritual performed inside the house, that done outside and the feasting of the guests.

Inside the house a multi-level altar will be set up of the offerings. This can be more or less extensive depending upon the household desires and means, but the overall format is fixed. The central or uppermost torma arrangement consists of thirteen separately named tormas:



An auxilliary set consists of general offerings of water, flowers, incense, a butter lamp, na¹⁰, and chhang¹¹, clustered around another large torma like the sai-yum of the central/upper offerings, but here called chhau-yi. Finally there are the most general or public offerings of a large plate of potatoes and a large simple torma--together they are merely called chhau, 'offering.'

The presiding lama is a village, not a monastic lama. In front of him are placed offerings of na, arak¹³, incense, flowers and a butterlamp. First, he recites and makes an offering of small pieces of the chhau to exorcise the rhendi, 'ghosts', which is thrown violently out the window. The rest of the chhau is distributed among all present and children are given some of the smaller tormas as special treats.

After a short informal interlude in which there is much joking, laughing and drinking of chhang and arak, the lama resumes and culminates his work with a special butter blessing (karkye shop) to the members of the household holding the kang sung. He will take the grain offerings before him home in payment for his services.

The ritual outside apparently may be done before, after, or during a break in the inside work. It consists of setting up (ideally five) tardza--the evergreen tree poles with the branches of the crown not removed described earlier--and making offerings to it of cloth, butter and corn. As the offerings are made, the lama recites 'put the butter on the head', 'put the butter on the tail', 'on the feet', etc., and the household head mimics his instructions as best as possible on the imaginary head, tail, and feet of a tree-trunk. In the gothes, or in very large rituals (see below on Mani-rimdu) these can be done on a real animal. Also, in the village, older informants said they could recall that in their 'grandfather's time' a white goat was used, and then sacrificed. To contemporary Sherpas the idea of killing is so reprehensible that some of the younger people could not believe that this could ever have been true, but they were informed quite firmly by the older ones that, indeed, it was so.¹³ Similarly, the cloth offerings--of two sorts: gak, a dark appliqued piece which is kept and added to from year to year, and Dau-tok (also called, through association, tardza), five strips of white cloth which are renewed each year--are tied and draped in different places on the tree-pole-goat-nak.

Finally kang sung involves the feasting of all guests present. This is an integral part of this event as well as of the entire Sherpa complex of hosting and hospitality described in detail by Ortner (Paul, 1970).

The last rituals to be discussed in this paper which draw upon the herd-human equation in invoking local divine forces somewhat outside of, appended to, or on the fringes of, rational Nyinmapa Buddhist theology for protection and prosperity are the Womi Tso festival and the nak consecration in Mani-rimdu. Both are big annual public events, attracting not only Sherpas but anyone who wishes to attend, bringing with them their own interpretations of the event.

The variety of participants is most obvious at Womi Tso, where people come from up to a week's walk away, from almost every ethnic group in the region, and

in great numbers. Brahmin-Chetris, who call the festival Dudh Kund Jatra or Mela, come for the bathing and renewing of their sacred threads for which the full moon (of Sawan or Bhadau, generally falling in the western months of August or September) is named, Janai purnima. In this year (1976) because it fell in Sawan, the time of another all-Tamang festival nearer to Phaplu, no Tamangs came to Womi Tso. There were, however, hundreds of Rais and Limbus who came with shamans from their villages. Their primary ritual activity was centered at the lake shore, where they made a series of offerings including small leaf boats set afloat with little burning wicks in them, and at five points around a cliff on the western shore of the lake. The Sherpas laughed at the efforts of the scantily-clad bathing Hindus shivering violently from the cold. Coming warmly dressed from gothe and village, the Sherpas were content to splash a little water on face, hands and feet. They enjoyed the preceeding night's all-night, drinking, dancing and singing with the Rais and Limbus and watched (and even consulted) their shamans with interest. But the focus of their religious action was the cicumambulation of the lake itself three times. They voiced great concern that the lake was so dried up: it was clearly shrunken to about one-third its normal size, a disturbing phenomenon to Sherpas who look to this lake especially, its fullness and purity, as a visible symbol of their own prosperity and health. Their action and concern were part of their belief system, just as were those of the other groups present. For Sherpas, the festival at Womi Tso, which occurs when the gothes are about to redescend from the highest pastures, when calves are about to be sold and dairy production is at or just beyond its peak, is devoted to the highest of the local country gods. It marks the moment after which they need no longer be worshipped in the gothes themselves each day. The prosperity and health of herds and families is reflected in the lake; the most important of the country gods in Numbur mountain, overseeing all the other gods and goddesses and visible repository of their protective force, looms above.

Mani-rimdu is the largest more exclusively Sherpa festival in Solu.¹⁴ Although people of other ethnic groups are free to attend, when they do so, it is as spectator in an essentially Sherpa event. Either they come to watch the costumed monastic dancing without understanding them or they subscribe to the significance given them in Sherpa belief.

On the main dance day, the central religious activity is the morning-long consecration of two young naks. Most of this takes place inside the gomba before the dances begin, away from the public who have not yet assembled to watch the dances in the courtyard, but are still drinking, eating and visiting outside. Inside, the naks are dedicated to the local divinities, who are praised and honored greatly, as is the country over which they preside itself, and the monastery which serves it them. Finishing the consecration of the naks overlaps with the beginning of the dances, so that once the public is seated and the initial orchestral number has ended, they are led into the courtyard and blessed before the crowd. To the intoning of the lamas, they receive butter on head, tail, feet, etc, white cloth scarves over their neck and dark cloth appliqued and brocade banners across their back (see above outside ritual of kang sung). Then they are made to circumambulate the altar in the middle of the courtyard before being led away to circumambulate the entire gomba. In its entirety, Mani-rimdu is an important assurance to Sherpas that not all their pantheon has been rationalized into complete unapproachability by the high monastic tradition even though that tradition has managed to incorporate those country gods, earth gods, and goddesses of life and prosperity as 'Protectors of the Faith.' Mani-rimdu is living expression of continuing divine involvement in the concerns of daily Sherpa life, an important symbol of which are the naks and the high altitude herds.

FOOTNOTES

1. Based upon field research conducted with the support of the National Institute of Mental Health Doctoral Dissertation Research Fellowship in Solukhumbu district, Nepal, from October 1975-December 1976.
2. It must be noted, however, that very large sections of Solu have been held by the members of one clan segment in Phaplu whose willingness or reluctance to sell portions of their holdings has until now been the only factor limiting the purchase of new lands. This, of course, cannot go on forever. Although at present there is still what must be called--relative to the rest of Nepal--a land surplus in Solu (e.g. no villager in the primary

village of study was working all the land they owned), if population growth continues at its present rate this will and within the next generation, much sooner if many of the Sherpas residing in India or Kathmandu but who still have land rights in Solu were to suddenly return.

3. Female of a cross between a nak and a dzolang, raised for sale in the nak gothes.
4. Term specifically refers to the herder's hut (cf. Nepali goTH).
5. Female yak.
6. It is interesting to note that not only is infant mortality dramatically less in the gothes, -- presumably due largely to the far better nutrition, -- but also the men who have and often stay in high altitude gothes are rarely involved in the many fights, drunkenness and general belligerence which marks village life, even when they are in the village.
7. Indeed, dzum gothe owners pride themselves on their shaksa bulls, feeding them butter, eggs and even honey and never using them to plow. Owners take great delight in the prowess of their bulls, especially in the bulls' conquests in other herds, and even in the number of other bulls theirs has killed or injured in combat, endowing them with many anthropomorphic qualities. Thus a defeated bull is said to hide in the forest for days from 'shame' after losing a battle. And should one bull kill another, there is no particular animosity between the owners, but the surviving bull must provide free stud service for the other's cows for three years.
8. Not all will survive. Even with the care they get as many as half the calves may die.
9. A tardza is a special kind of offering: a small evergreen tree is stripped of all its branches except those of the crown. This awkward pole is planted in the ground or in a pile of stones and made offerings of white cloth, butter, milk and a special dark banner.

10. Generally translated as 'barley.' My informants, however, insisted it was not barley. Toba (SIL) translates it as 'cop.' In any case, it is the grain crop which is harvested just before the time of kang sung and eaten roasted or made into chhang--and a welcome treat from the end-of-winter diet.
11. Fermented but undistilled beverage which can be made with rice, millet, corn or na. Sherpas in Solu generally make and prefer corn, corn-and-millet, or na chhang.
12. Alcoholic beverage made by distilling chhang.
13. A point brought up again later in an argument about how similar or different Sherpas are from Tamangs, another non-Hindu ethnic group. Sherpas are somewhat ambivalent about Tamangs. On the one hand, they frequently say, usually in the presence of Tamangs, that they're equal and they do co-dine, But most Sherpas are disturbed greatly by, and regard as ultimately a sign of inferiority, the fact that Tamangs sacrifice animals in some of their rituals. Thus, to be told that their ancestors--and not those of the distant distant past--also made living sacrifices was a distressing discovery and contradiction.
14. Cf. Jerstad (1969).

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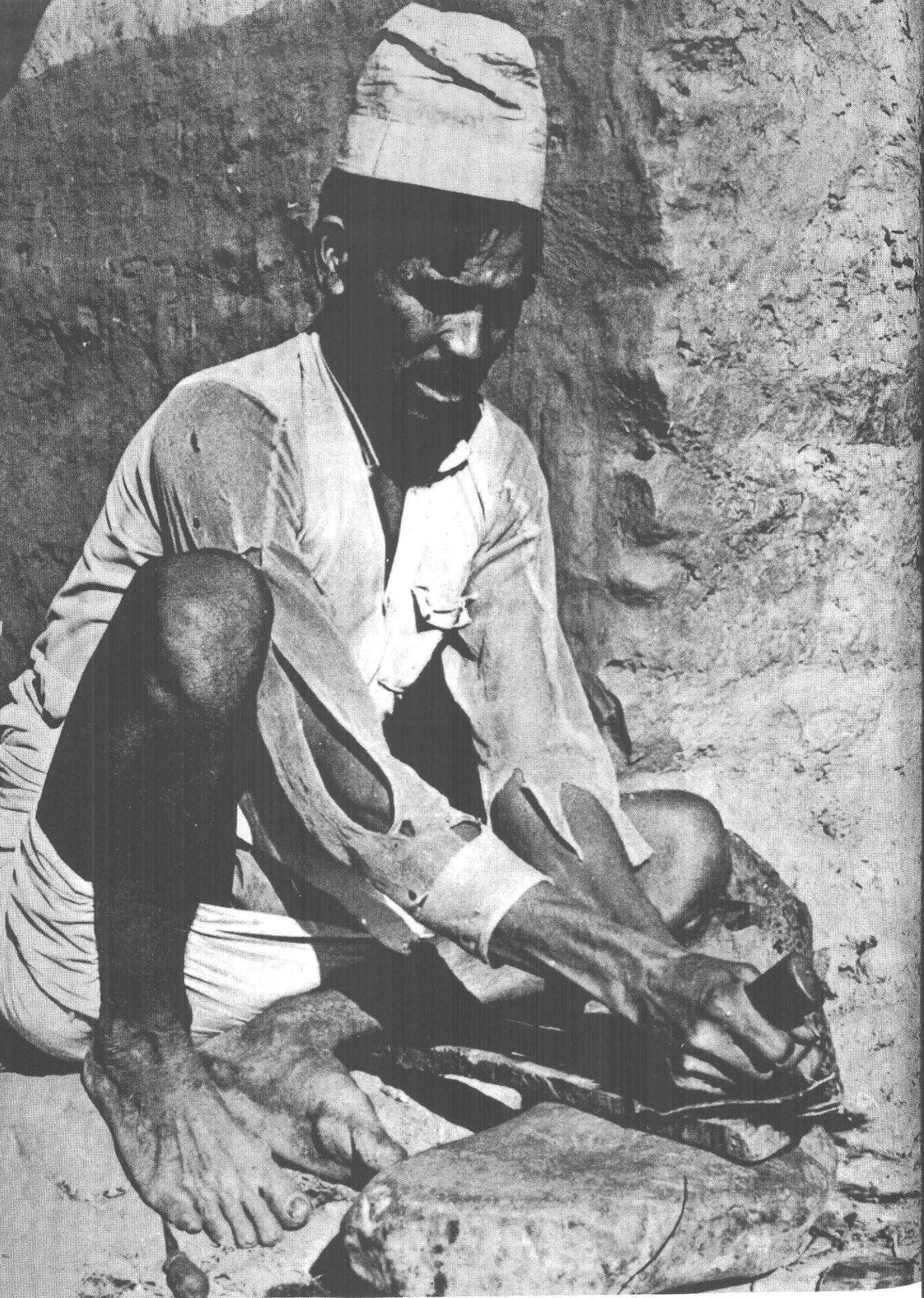
economic relationships between occupational castes and high castes in central nepal

Veronique Bouillier¹

The facts here presented were gathered in Kattike Deurali gaon panchayat (Kabhre Palanchok district). This panchayat lies between the Sun Kosi and one of its affluents, the Chauri Khola: it consists of two small valleys which rise, one perpendicular to the Sun Kosi and the other to the Chauri Khola, meeting at the Deurali col, the geographic and administrative centre of the gaon panchayat.

This administrative unit includes various villages, which are situated mostly half way up the southern slopes of the valley. The fields are terraced from the valley floor up to the houses and the steep stony hilltops are left as grazing for the animals. The economy of this area is almost solely agricultural: the cultivation of rice, maize, wheat, buckwheat and millet. Buffalo and oxen are reared in cattle-sheds, but sheep and goats are herded by children in the nearby pastures.

Although Kabhre Palanchok district has a high proportion of Tamangs, Kattike Deurali, with the exception of two Newar families, is populated only by the following Nepalese castes: Jaisi Bahun, Chetri, Giri, Kami, Sarki and Damai. It is the last three castes, grouped under the heading of occupational castes which are of particular interest here. The other castes will only be considered in terms of their relationship with these occupational castes.

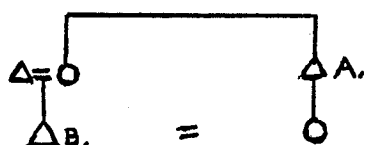


A Sarki making the sole of a shoe.

The Kami (blacksmiths), the Sarki (tanners and cobblers) and the Damai (tailors and musicians) belong to the group of castes from whom one may not accept water (pani nachalne); purification by the sprinkling of water (chhoe chhito halnu parne) is needed after contact with them. This means that they are amongst the lowest castes in the hierarchy as established by Jang Bahadur Rana in 1853. But this is not to say that these three castes, though equally untouchable as far as the high castes are concerned, place themselves on an equal footing: a Damai will accept water from a Kami or a Sarki, but they will not accept it from him. The Damai are considered as inferior to the Kami and the Sarki. The latter consider each other in the same way: neither will accept water from the other. If the status of a Kami or a Sarki is, therefore slightly higher than that of a Damai, from the point of view of the high castes all three share the same impurity. On the practical level of daily relationships, this impurity makes them untouchables for the high castes who must:

- accept from them neither water nor food (the reprisal being exclusion from their own caste), and avoid even touching them (otherwise purification from this contact, by the sprinkling of water, is necessary). For example a high caste man wishing to give a cigarette to an untouchable would throw it into his hand.
- purify that which, because of the nature of their work, has been in contact with an untouchable. For example, the garment made by a tailor must be purified with a few drops of water before being worn.
- not enter a craftsman's house and the craftsman must not enter the house of a high caste man. When the Damai work for an employer, they sit in the porch or the courtyard and they are given their food outside the house. In the same way, when the musicians play during domestic rituals, they stay outside the house.
- Sexual relations between high castes and castes contact with whom requires purification are strictly forbidden. Even though, since 1963 infringement of this rule is not punishable by law, in practice it is still an unacceptable situation.

- As a result of their impurity, no Brahmins officiate as priests at the festivals or life cycle rituals of the untouchables. The priest's role is taken by the son-in-law, or the sister's son (which can come to the same thing in the occupational castes, contrary to the high castes, as marriage with a matrilineal cross cousin is allowed).



B is both son-in-law of A
and son of his sister

- The inferior status of the occupational castes is evident in the village's topography; they usually live on the outskirts of the main settlement. In Kattike they are either below or above the centre on the poorest land.

In Kattike gaon panchayat, they are distributed as follows:

- There are only a few Kami. They live in a little hamlet of six houses situated on a steep slope, a little way up from Kattike Gaon (one of the two main settlements of the panchayat, in 1972 there were 833 inhabitants, in the second one, Jyamire, further east, there were 863 inhabitants). All these Kami belong to the same lineage and their clan name is Kaligar.
- The Sarki: they are grouped in a hamlet of eleven houses, called Bokechaur. This hamlet is situated on the northern slope of the valley, above the Deurali pass, on particularly arid land. They are all of the same lineage and their clan name is Gore.
- The Damai are the most numerous: they live in two hamlets, one above Kattike Gaon is composed of about ten houses and the other, on the upper limit of Jyamire, of thirty houses.

The occupational castes live in the standard hill house of the Nepalese: a rectangular, one storey (the hearth is on the ground floor) house with stone walls and a thatched roof. However, they differ from high caste houses in that the outer walls are not

plastered, the stones are visible. The houses have a small porch and a courtyard where most of the agricultural and occupational activities take place. Only the Kami have a special building, a forge, for their work (there are two forges for the six Kami houses). Often there are cattle-sheds near the houses and vegetable gardens and bari (fields under dry cultivation) where people grow buckwheat, millet, maize and some mustard. In Kattike, like in other parts of Nepal, the untouchables usually have little land and very rarely rice-fields. Their basic food is buckwheat gruel or millet rather than rice.

However, farming is not their main activity: the greater part of their income comes from their work as skilled artisans. Nevertheless, in Kattike the three castes work at their traditional crafts but their economic situation is not the same: the Sarki are paid for each item in cash whereas the Damai and Kami have the traditional relationship, jajmani, with their employers, that is to say the craftsman's family is bound to the employer's family by a tacit contract which must be renewed every year. The craftsman provides his specialised services in exchange for a part of his employer's crops. This type of relationship shows that the division of labour is linked to the necessary solidarity between castes.

However, contrary to the situation in India, in Nepal this jajmani relationship involves just a small number of services (many of the activities reserved to special castes in India, like washing or shaving, in Nepal can be done by anyone). In Kattike, jajmani applies for the services of the Damai and the Kami and for the local Brahman priests. This contract is also very unstable: it must be renewed every year during the Chaitra Dasain festival (on the eighth day of the clear fortnight of the month of Chait - March-April). The craftsman has to go to his employer's house where he must be given some of the meat prepared for the family feast if the agreement is to be renewed. If he is not offered meat, the contract is broken. The craftsman has thus very few guarantees. On the other hand, a craftsman who thinks that his remuneration is not sufficient can also break off the contract by not going to his employer's house at Chaitra Dasain. The employer usually ensures the craftsman is satisfied in order to avoid being called an avaricious man; high caste women in Kattike always make sure that the people working for them are given big meals.

In this type of relationship, the craftsman calls his employer bista and the employer calls his craftsman bali-kami or bali-damai, which means Kami or Damai working for a share of the crops (bali).

Even though there are not many Kami in Kattike, they are very important in the life of the village: as blacksmiths they make most of the farm implements and also some domestic utensils. Every blacksmith has dealings with several bista (in Kattike, between twenty and a hundred) for whom he is working.

What is the work of a blacksmith? On the one hand, he has to repair all the metal tools and containers for his bista: it usually consists of reshaping and sharpening blunt edges or mending dented or holed copper jars. On the other hand, he makes new tools: blades for sickles, hoes and axes, ploughshares, frying pans, Chulesi (knife made of a verticle blade standing on a metal base). In Kattike, the blacksmith only forges iron, which he buys from the nearest bazaar at Dolaghat. He does not make anything new in brass or copper (people buy these in the bazaar). For any new thing he makes, the blacksmith receives a special payment, puhunki, either in kind (a few mana of cereals) or, which is more usual in Kattike, in cash (one to three rupees for a sickle blade, ten to twelve for a hoe). He does not receive any payment for doing repairs as it is the normal service he must give to his bista.

The exact amount of the bali varies according to the importance and wealth of the family of each bista. It is given at the time of every main harvest, in Bhadau (August-September) for maize, in Mansir (November-December) for rice, in Chait (March-April) for wheat. Usually a rich bista gives his Kami:

- 1 basket (doko) of maize cobs (6-7 kg)
- 10 pathi of paddy (25 kg)
- 1 pathi of wheat (3-4 kg)

And for certain festivals the craftsman receives a portion of food (bhag) which corresponds to one meal which he could have at his bista's house. The bhag at Dasai is the most important as, on the tenth day,

Dasami, the Kami receives the following from his employer:

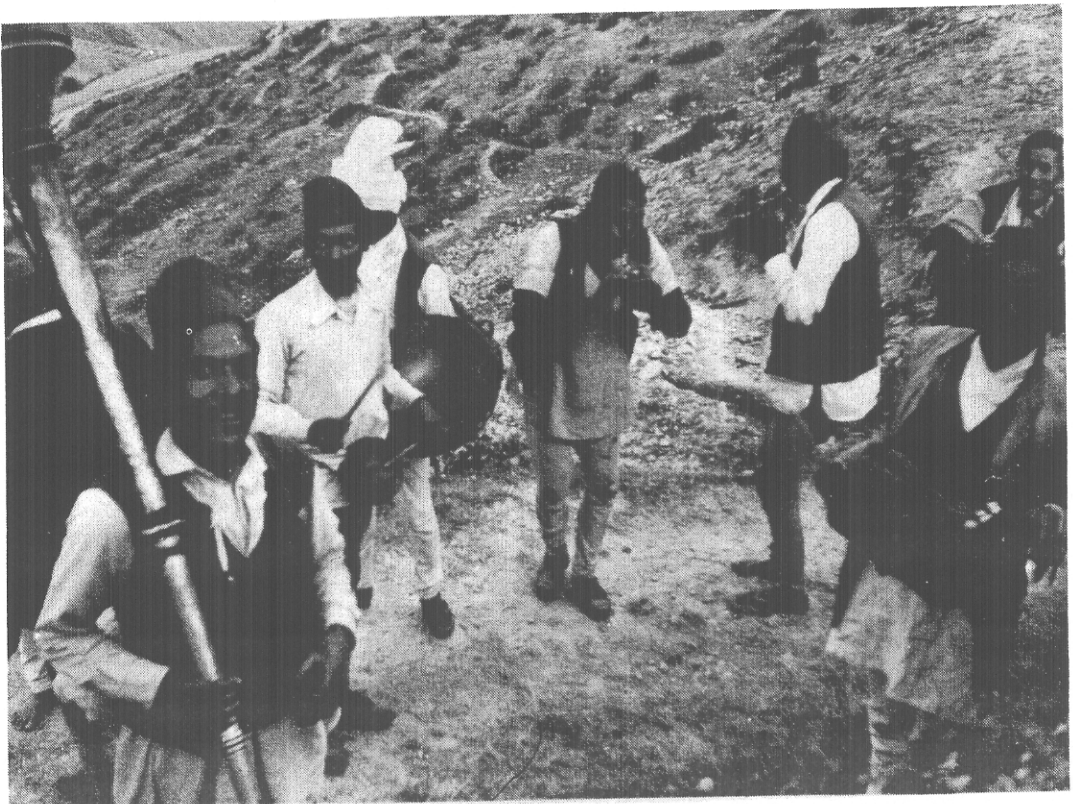
2 mana of husked rice (850 gr)

2 mana of chiura (flaked rice) (500 gr)

4 pau of meat (800 gr). The Kami are traditionally given the neck of the kids slaughtered by the bista's family on the eighth day of the festival (the Kami, like the Damai, sacrifice a pig for Dasain, on the ninth day).

It has been noted earlier that at Chaitya Dasain, for the renewal of their contract, the Kami (and the Damai) receive some meat from their bista. Finally, at domestic festivals and the life cycle rituals in the bista's house, he gives some food to his craftsmen.

The Damai have a double function, so they are in contact with the higher castes in two ways. As musicians they are hired for special occasions and paid in cash, as tailors they work, like the Kami, for a bista, on a contractual basis. But, unlike the Kami, generally the whole Damai family come and work at the bista's house. They bring their sewing machine with them and sit in the courtyard, one of them cutting the material, the others sewing it either by machine or by hand.



A Damai band in a marriage procession.

Every Damai family from Kattike works for twenty to forty bista belonging to Jaisi Bahun, Giri and Chetri castes. They spend four or five days each year in every house, mending old clothes (only the Damai sew, indeed, women of other castes never even do any mending) or making new ones. In this case the material is provided by the bista (who has bought it in the bazaar) and any remnants are given to the Damai. For cutting, the tailor copies an old garment and there are rarely any fittings. He makes mostly women's blouses, men's and children's trousers and shirts, and quilts (sirak) for which the cotton is brought from Kathmandu. New clothes are made mostly for festivals or life-cycle rituals, especially for marriages. The Damai arrives one or two days before the ceremony at the girl's or boy's home to sew new clothes for the whole family, notably the beige shirt and trousers for the bridegroom and the full set of red garments for the bride (for the marriage, the girl has to wear red clothes which are brought by the boy).

Like the Kami, the Damai receives a share of his bista's main crops in payment for his work:

1 basket (doko) of maize (6-7 kg)

from 10 pathi to 1 muri of paddy (from 25 to 50 kg)

1 pathi of wheat (3.1 kg)

1 pathi of millet (3,822 kg). The harvest is in mansir (November-December)

1 pathi of buckwheat, equally in mansir.

When the Damai work at their employer's houses, they have to be given meals, they also receive a portion of food (bhag) for the most important festivals and domestic rituals. At Dasai they receive:

1 pathi of husked rice (3,598 kg)

2 mana of chiura (500 gr)

and the tails of the animals which have been sacrificed.

The Damai (only the men) are also needed as musicians by the high castes. The presence of a band is necessary for some of the life-cycle ceremonies, like annaprasan (eating of the first solid food) and marriage, and for some festivals like Kartik ekadasi (11th day of

the clear fortnight of the October-November month) when people worship Vishnu as tulsi (basil). The musical instruments played by the Damai in Kattike are: karnal (long straight metal trumpet), sahanai (curved oboe), damaha (large kettledrum), tyamko (small kettledrum), cymbals (jhyamta) and dholak (a two-headed drum). A marriage-band, for example includes five to eleven musicians. They to escort the bridegroom to the bride's house, play during the ceremony itself, especially during the sidur halne ritual when the bridegroom puts some vermilion (sindur) on the parting of the bride's hair, and also take part in the procession which, the next day, takes the bride back to her husband's village.

Generally the band is chosen and conducted by a Damai who is the regular tailor of the bride's or bridegroom's house. Every musician receives meals and a payment of about five rupees, and, for a marriage, the chief Damai also gets a turban.

The Sarki, contrary to the Damai and the Kami, do not have in Kattike a contractual relationship with a bista: they have only one type of occupational activity, the making of leather shoes, for which they are paid in cash. Their prospective clients come to see them, order a pair of shoes for which they pay between ten and twelve rupees, and return to collect them a few days later.

In Kattike the Sarki form a quite separate hamlet which is located a little above the Deurali pass. They work at home but are in contact with the Kattike villagers as well as with the Tamang of the neighboring panchayat, for, in addition to their function of shoemakers, they sell meat to the Tamang and to the other occupational castes.

High castes do not eat buffalo or beef, so, if their animals die, the Sarki are allowed to buy the carcasses. They pay different amounts for the skins and for the meat:

a buffalo skin costs between 10 and 15 rupees

a cow or ox skin between 3 and 5 rupees

a calf skin between 1 and 3 rupees.

They do not pay anything for the beef as they are the only people who eat it, but they pay between 50 and 200 rupees for buffalo meat, according to the size and condition of the animal. They re-sell this buffalo meat to the other occupational castes and to the Tamang for 5 to 8 rupees a dharni (2.4 kg).

The Sarki only use buffalo skins. The preparation of these skins requires great care and lasts for more than four months.

- first, the whole skin is put in a pit (kharal) for three months, dug near the settlement, and covered with lime, cun (which comes from the banks of the Sun Kosi) to whiten it.
- then, for three weeks, the skin is buried in another pit where crushed fibres of the dhanero tree (Woodfordia fruticosa Kurz) have been soaked; the juice of this plant has the property of tanning the skins.
- later on, the skin is taken out of the pit and sewn in the shape of a waterbottle, then filled up with the same dhanero fibres and hung up on a pole for two or three weeks. It is then unstitched and left to dry, stretched out on the ground with pegs. Finally, the skin is rubbed with oil and beaten to make it soft.

When all this is finished, the skin is ready to be cut and assembled. One buffalo skin of medium size makes about seven pairs of shoes.

The shoemaker uses three types of tools: a cutter (bar), an awl (aro) and a steel mallet (mugro) used to flatten and smooth the leather.

In addition to their professional specialities, the occupational castes are employed by the high castes as agricultural workers at busy times of year: transplanting, harvesting or threshing. They are paid in kind: one pathi of grain for the work done in the irrigated fields (khet), and half that for less hard tasks. Often the men are also employed as porters by the high castes, for instance when they need someone to carry the products they intend to sell in the bazaar. They are paid about 12 rupees a day.

It is interesting to note that in Kattike, out of three occupational activities, two are still regulated by the traditional relationship system. This system is disappearing fast in Nepal and now the economic exchanges are practically made only in cash. The fact that these ties of mutual dependence are being suppressed is not necessarily a good thing for the craftsmen, because it can put an end to their activity. The Sarki of Kattike are a good example. With the lack of a contractual relationship, people tend to disdain the product of the village Sarki and prefer to buy their shoes in the town bazaar where there is more choice and the shoes are more "modern". Craftsmen who can no longer live by their traditional occupations and who have not much land are obliged to look for jobs as agricultural workers or often to migrate to the Terai.

FOOTNOTE

1. This article was translated from the original French by Sarah Duke.

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newar kinship terms in the light of kinship typology

Iswaranand Sresthacharya

According to Schusky, 1965, there are two major ways of classifying kinship systems, one which classifies such systems according to the terms used for addressing one's cousins and one which classifies such systems according to the terms which one uses for one's parents and their siblings¹. The purpose of this study is to examine the Newar kinship system from these two points of view.

A. Classification of Kin Systems by "Cousin" Terminology.

Six major types of kinship system are commonly distinguished on the basis of cousin terminology: 1. The Eskimo system, 2. The Hawaiian system, 3. The Iroquois system, 4. The Crow system, 5. The Omaha system, and 6. The Sudanese system. Figure 1. summarizes the defining features of each of these six types. From Figure 2 it can be observed that all cousins are lumped with siblings. Thus, the term, *dāju*, is used not only for one's elder brother but also for any son of either of one's parent's siblings who is older than ego; *kijā* is used for one's younger brother, but also for any son of either of one's parent's siblings who is younger than ego; *tatā* is used both for one's older sister and for a daughter of one's parent's siblings who is older than ego; and *kehe* applies to one's younger sister as well as to a daughter of a parent's sibling who is younger than ego. It may be fairly concluded that the system of kinship terms found in Newari is a system of the Hawaiian type.

B. Classification by Terms for Parents and their Siblings.

According to Schusky there are four basic types within this type of classificatory scheme: 1. The lineal system, 2. The generational system, 3. The bifurcate merging system, and 4. The bifurcate collateral system.

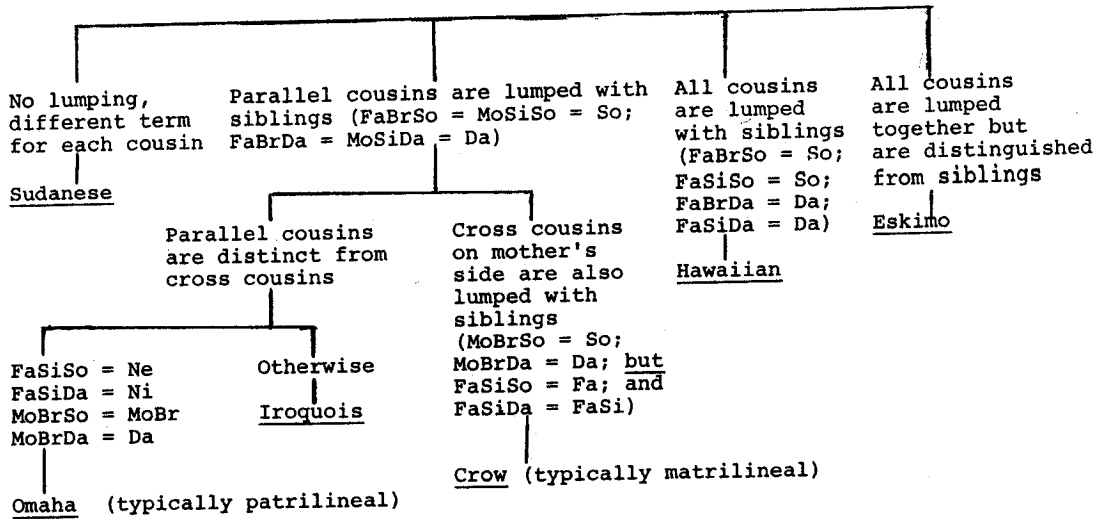


Figure 1. Six major types of kinship system commonly distinguished on the basis of cousin terminology.

With Figure 1 in mind consider now Figure 2, which outlines the relevant portion of the Newar Kinship system.

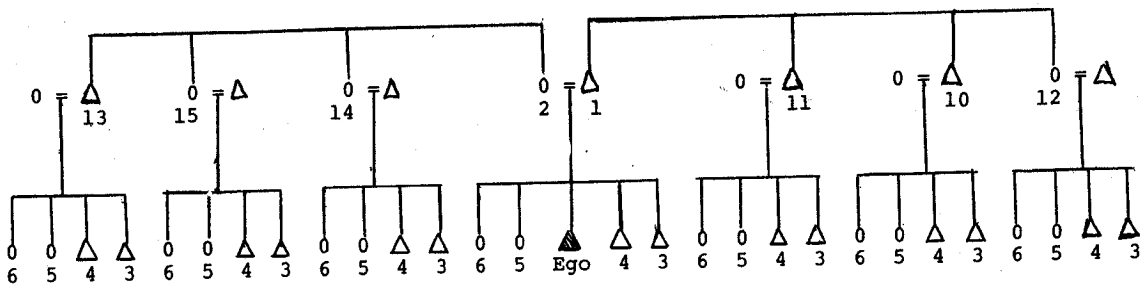


Figure 2. Chart of Newari Kinship Terms for Cousins and for First Ascending Generation.

Terms for Figure 2:

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. bāā, bwā, abu, bau | 10. taa-bāā (older than father) |
| 2. māā | 11. ciri-bwā (younger than father) |
| 3. dāju (older than ego) | (Gbj. Srt. kakā) |
| 4. kijā (younger than ego) | 12. nini (age irrelevant) |
| 5. tatā (older than ego) | 13. pāju (age irrelevant) |
| 6. kehē (younger than ego) | 14. tari-māā, taa-māā |
| | 15. camā, ca-māā |

(Numbers 7, 8, and 9 are omitted from Figure 2).

Figure 3 summarizes the defining features for each of these types.

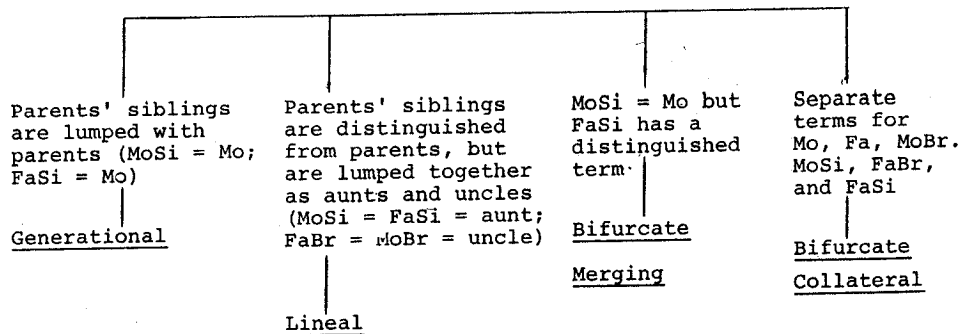


Figure 3, Types of Kin Term Systems According to First Ascending Generation.

Schusky notes in addition that the generational system is similar in principle to the Hawaiian system, the Sudanese system is bifurcate collateral, and most Iroquois, Crow, and Omaha systems are bifurcate merging.

From Figures 2 and 3 it can be seen that the Newar system is closely related to the bifurcate merging system. Newari has no single term for Mother's Sister but distinguishes obligatorily between elder and younger Mother's Sister. What differentiates the terms for Mother's Sisters and the term for Mother are the relative age prefixes. The same relationship holds between the term for Father and the terms for Father's Elder and Younger Brothers. By contrast, Father's Sister and Mother's Brother have separate terms, apparently unrelated morphemically to the terms for Father and Mother.

C. A Glossary of Kirtipur-Nagāā-Pāngā Newari Kinship Terms

This glossary makes use of the following abbreviations:

Ad.	Term of address.	Ni	Niece
Br	Brother	Pa	Parent
Cf.	Compare	Resp.	Respectful form.
Ch	Child	Rf.	Term of reference
Da	Daughter	Srt.	Used by Sresthas
El	Elder	Sb	Sibling
Fa	Father	Si	Sister
Gbj.	Used by Gubhājus	So	Son
Hu	Husband	Sp	Spouse
		var.	variant
Jyp.	Used by Jyāpus	var. of	is a variant of
Ktm.	Kathmandu form	Wi	Wife
Mo	Mother	Yr	Younger
Ne	Nephew		

aji, Ad. Rf. 1. Mother's mother. 2. Father's mother.
3. Only female ancestor of the third descending generation. (Rf. ghat ghae aji, tapāā aji.)

abu, Ad. Rf. (Honorific var. abu-ju) Father.

abu-bājyā, Ad. Rf. (Used both for individuals and collectively) Ancestor. (Syn. bājyā-aju).

āju, Rf. 1. Father's father. 2. Mother's father.
(Cf. Ad. bājyā)

kakā, Ad. Rf. (Gbj. Srt.) Father's younger brother.

kakā-bājyā, Ad. Rf. 1. Father's father's younger brother. 2. Mother's father's younger brother.

kakā bāā, Rf. Father's younger brother. (Cf. Ad. bāā).

kakā bāāju, Rf. Husband's father's younger brother.
(Cf. Ad. bāā).

kalāā, Rf. (kalāta-) (Direct address avoided with circumlocutions such as Rām-yā māā, Mother of Ram) Wife. (Syn. nakij, jahān).

kāki, Ad. Rf. (Gbj. Srt.) Father's younger brother's wife.

kāki-māā, Ad, Rf. (māma-, Gbj. Srt.) Father's younger brother's wife.

kāki-māā, Ad. Rf. (Honorific var. (Rf. only) kāki-māā-ju) Husband's father's younger brother's wife.

kāe, Ad. Rf. (kāya-) Son.

kāe-cā, Ad. Rf. Brother's son.

kāe-bhau, Rf. Son's wife. (Cf. Ad. bhau-macā, Resp. bhalimacā).

kāe-bhāju, Ad. Rf. (Resp.) Son.

kijā, Ad. Rf. 1. Younger brother. 2. Parent's sibling's son (younger than ego). 3. Ad. any hu.yu.Br. (Rf. kijā bhata kijā bwata).

kijā bhāju, Rf. (Resp.) Younger brother. (Cf. Ad. kijā).

kijā-bhata, Rf. Husband's younger brother. (Cf. Ad. kijā).

kijā-bhau, Ref. Younger brother's wife. (Cf. Resp. Ad. bhali-macā).

kijā-bhwata, Rf. (var. kijā-bhata) Husband's younger brother. (Cf. Ad. kijā).

kehe, Ad. Rf. 1. Younger sister. 2. Parent's sibling's daughter (younger than ego). 3. Ad. Husband's younger sister. 4. Ad. HuPaSbDa (younger than Hu).

kehe bhata, Rf. 1. Husband's younger sister. 2. Husband's parent's sibling's daughter (younger than husband). (Cf. Ad. kehe).

kehe bhwata, Rf. (var. of kehe-bhata).

kehe mae-ju, Rf. (Resp.)¹ Younger sister. 2. Parent's sibling's daughter (younger than ego). (Cf. Ad. kehe).

kwii, Rf. Descendant of the fifth generation (including SoSoSoSoSo; DaDaDaDaDa; SoDaSoSoSo; DaSoDaDaDa; SoSoDaSoSo; DaDaSoDaDa; SoSoSoDaSo; DaDaDaSoDa; SoSoSoSoDa; DaDaDaDaSo; SoSoDaDaDa; DaDaSoSoSo; etc. for all 64 fifth generation). (No.Ad.). (Syn. kwii-macā).

kwii-macā, Rf. Descendant of the fifth generation.
(No. Ad.). (Syn. kwii).

ghāḡ ghāḡ aji, Rf. Female ancestor of the third ascending generation (including FaFaMo; FaMoMo; MoFaMo, MoMoMo). (Cf. Ad. aji). (Syn. tapāā aji).

ghāḡ ghāḡ āju, Rf. Male ancestor of the third ascending generation (including FaFaFa; FaMoFa, MoFaFa; MoMoFa) (Cf. Ad. bājyā). Syn. tapāā āju ghāe ghāe bājyā).

ghāḡ ghāḡ bājyā. same as above.

cama, Ad. Rf. Mother's younger sister. (Cf. Gbj. cāḡ; Srt. ciri-māḡ).

ca-māḡ, Ad. Rf. (ca-māma-, var. of camā) Mother's younger sister.

cāḡ, Ad. Rf. (Gbj.) Mother's younger sister. (Cf. Jyp. camā; Srt. ciri-māḡ).

ciri-abu, Ad. Rf. Father's younger brother. (Syn. ciri-bāā, ciri-bwā).

ciri-pāju, Ad. Rf. 1. Mother's younger brother. 2. Mother's younger sister's husband.

ciri-bāā, Ad. Rf. Father's younger brother. (Syn. ciri-bwā, ciri-abu).

ciri-bu, Rf. Father's younger brother. (Cf. Ad. ciri-bāā, ciri-abu ciri-bwā).

ciri-bwā, Ad. Rf. Father's younger brother.

ciri-mal-ju, Ad. Rf. (var. of ciri-male-ju) Mother's younger brother's wife. (Ktm. ciri-male).

ciri-māḡ, Ad. Rf. (māma-) Father's second (or subsequent) wife, Father's co-wife, Step-mother.

cir-bāā, Ad. Rf. (var. of ciri-bāā).

cir-māḡ, Ad. Rf. (var. of ciri-māḡ).

chae, Ad. Rf. Grand child, descendant of the second descending generation (including SoSo, DaDa, DaSo, DaDa). (Syn. chae-macā).

chae-jilājāa, Rf. (jilājana-) Grand daughter's husband (including DaDaHu, SoDaHu). (Cf. Ad. jicā-bhāju).

chae-bhinā-macā, Rf. Sister's grand child (including SiSoSo; SiSoDa; SiDaSo; SiDaDa). (Syn. chae bhincā). (Cf. Ad. bhincā).

chae-bhincā, Rf. Sister's grand child (including SiSoSo; SiSoDa; SiDaSo; SiDaDa). (Syn. chae bhinā-macā). (Cf. Ad. bhincā).

chae-bhau, Rf. Grandson's wife (including DaSoWi; SoSoWi). (Cf. Ad. bhau-macā).

chae-macā, Rf. Grand child (including SoSo; SoDa; DaSo; DaDa). (Cf. Ad. chae).

che-jicā, Rf. A man who is provided with board and room by his wife's kin.

chwii, Rf. Great grand child, descendant of the third descending generation (including SoSoSo; SoSoDa; SoDaSo; SoDaDa; DaSoSo; DaDaSo; DaDaDa). (No. Ad.). (Syn. chwii-macā).

chwii-macā, Rf. Great grand child, descendant of the third descending generation. (No Ad.). (Syn. chwii).

jahān, Rf. Wife. (Address avoided with circumlocutions such as Rām-yā māā, Mother of Ram). (Syn. kalāā, nakii).

jicā, Rf. 1. Daughter's husband. 2. Younger sister's husband. 3. Elder sister's husband. (Cf. ad. jicā-bhāju).

jicā-dāju, Rf. Elder sister's husband. (Cf. Ad. dāju).

jicā-pāju, Rf. Father's (elder or younger) sister's husband. (Cf. Ad. pāju).

jicā-bhāju, Ad. Rf. (Resp.) 1. Daughter's husband. 2. (Elder or younger) sister's husband.

jilājāa, Rf. (jilājana-) 1. Daughter's husband. 2. Younger sister's husband. (Cf. Ad. jicā-bhāju).

jilājāa bhāju, Rf. Ad. 1. Resp. daughter's husband, 2. Younger sister's husband.

jiica, Ad. Rf. (var. of jicā).

taa-kehe, Rf. Collective term for brothers and sisters as well as cousins. (Cf. Srt. phukii).

taa-bāā, Ad. Rf. Father's elder brother. (Cf. Jyp. tari-bāā).

taa-māā, Ad. Rf. (māma-) 1. Mother's mother. 2. Father's mother. 3. (Srt. Gbj.) Father's elder brother's wife.

tatā, Ad. Rf. 1. Elder sister. 2. Parent's sibling's daughter (older than ego). 3. (Ad. only) Husband's elder sister (Cf. Rf. tatā-ju, tatā-bhata).

tatāā-ju, Ad. Rf. (Srt.) Elder brother's wife. (Cf. Jyp. bhwata; Gbj. pii-bhata).

tatā-ju, Rf. Husband's elder sister. (Cf. Ad. tatā). (Syn. tatā-bhata).

tatā-bhata, Rf. Husband's elder sister. (Cf. Ad. tatā) (Syn. tatā-ju).

tatā-bhwata, Rf. (var. of tatā-bhata).

tapāā-aji, Ad. Rf. Female ancestor of the third ascending generation (including FaFaMo; FaMoMo; MoMoMo). (Syn. ghāe ghāe-aji). (Ktm. tapāe-aji).

tapāā āju, Rf. Male ancestor of the third ascending generation (including FaFaFa; FaMoFa; MoFaFa; MoMoFa). (Syn. ghāe ghāe-āju). (Cf. Ad. tapāā bājyā). (Ktm. tapāe-āju).

tapāā bājyā, Ad. Rf. Male ancestor of the third ascending generation (including FaFaFa; FaMoFa; MoFaFa; MoMoFa). (Ktm. tapāe bājyā).

ta-māā, Ad. Rf. (māma-, var. of tari-māā) 1. Mother's elder sister. 2. Father's elder brother's wife.

tari-abu, Ad. Rf. Father's elder brother. (Syn. taa-bāā). (Cf. ciri-bwā, FaYrBr).

tari-nini, Ad. Rf. Father's elder sister. (Cf. ciri-nini, FaYrSi).

tari-pāju, Ad. Rf. Mother's elder brother. (Cf. ciri-pāju, MoYrBr).

tari-bāā, Ad. Rf. Father's elder brother. (Cf. ciri-bāā, FaYrBr.).

tari-bu, Ad. Father's elder brother. (Cf. Rf. tari-bwā, tari-bāā, tari-abu).

tari-bwā, Ad. Fr. Father's elder brother. (Cf. ciri-bwā, FaYrBr.)

tari-male-ju, Rf. Mother's elder brother's wife. (Cf. Ad. male-ju).

tari-mal-ju, Rf. (var. of tari-male-ju).

tari-māā, Ad. Rf. 1. Father's elder brother's wife.
2. Mother's elder sister.

tā, Ad. Elder sister. (Ref. tatā).

tāā-bhata, Rf. Husband's elder sister. (Cf. Ad. tatā).

tātā, Ad. Rf. (Child talk) Elder sister.

twāe, Rf. Bond friend. (Compounds ambiguously with kin terms: twāe kijā, Bond friend's younger brother, Younger brother's bond friend; twāe kāe, Bond friend's son, Son's bond friend, etc.) (Ad. avoided).

twāe-ju, Rf. (Resp.) Bond friend.

thaa, Rf. (thawa-) Relatives, close kin.

thaa-gu che, Rf. Husband's home.

thaa che, Rf. (A married woman's) father's home.

thaa che khalaā, Rf. (khalaka-) (A married woman's) father's relatives.

thaa thiti, Rf. Relative, Kin.

thyākā macā, Rf. An adopted child.

dadā, Rf. (var. darā) Elder brother. (Cf. Ad. dāju).

dadā-bhata, Rf. (var. darā-bhata, Jyp.) Husband's elder brother. (Cf. Ad. dāju). (Cf. Gbj. Srt. dāju-bhata).

dadā-bhwata, Rf. (var. of dadā-bhata, var. dara-bhwata).

darā, Rf. (var. of dadā).

darā-bhata, Rf. (var. of dadā-bhata).

darā-bhwata, Rf. (var. of dadā-bhwata).

dā, Ad. Elder brother, (Cf. Rf. dāju).

dāi dāi, Ad. Rf. (Child talk) Elder brother.

dāju, Ad. Rf. 1. Elder brother. 2. Parent's sibling's son (elder than ego). 3. (Ad. only) Elder sister's husband. (Cf. Rf. jicā-dāju). 4. (Ad. only) Husband's elder brother. (Cf. Jyp. Rf. dadā-bhata; Srt. Gbj. Rf. dāju-bhata).

dāju-bhata, Rf. (Gbj. Srt.) Husband's elder brother. (Cf. Jyp. darā bhata). (Ad. dāju). dāti-pāju, Rf. Mother's second eldest brother (either elder or younger than mother). (Cf. Ad. păju).

dāti-male-ju, Rf. (var. dāti-mal-ju) Mother's second eldest brother's wife. (Cf. Ad. male-ju, mal-ju).

dāe, Ad. Elder brother. (Cf. Rf. dāju).

duu-pāsā, Rf. The female chaperone of the bride who accompanies her to the groom's house.

dwalā-ji, Rf. A man who is given food and lodging by his wife's kin.

dhwam-bwā, Rf. Father's elder brother. (Cf. Ad. taa-bāā).

nakij, Rf. Wife. (Ad. avoided with circumlocutions such as Rām-yā-māā, The mother of Ram). (Syn. kalāā, jahān).

nālā, Rf. Adopted. (Occurs with a wide range of kin terms; nālā-kāe, Adopted son; nālā-kehe, Adopted younger sister; nālā-kijā, Adopted younger brother; nālā-tatā, Adopted elder sister; nālā dāju, Adopted elder brother; nālā-macā, Adopted child; nālā-mhyāe, Adopted daughter).

nini, Ad. Rf. Father's (elder or younger) sister.

nini-aji, Rf. Father's father's (elder or younger) sister. (Cf. Ad. aji).

nini-khalaa, Rf. (khalaka-) Father's (elder or younger) sister's husband's kin.

nini-bajee, Rf. Father's father's (elder or younger) sister. (Cf. Ad. bajee).

nini-pāju, Rf. Father's (elder or younger) sister's husband. (Cf. Ad. pāju). (Syn. jicā-pāju).

nini-māā-ju, Rf. Husband's father's (elder or younger) sister. (Ad. avoided).

nini-māā-ju, Ad. Rf. Term of respect used by persons of lower caste for an elderly woman of higher caste.

nini-māju. (Var. of nini-māā-ju).

nhe-thu, Rf. Husband's former wife. (Ad. avoided). (Cf. li-thu, Husband's later wife).

nhe-su, Rf. Pertaining to husband's former wife. (Occurs with a range of kin terms: *nhe-su-kāe*, Son by husband's former wife; *nhe-su-mhyāe*, Daughter by husband's former wife; *nhe-su-macā*, Child by husband's former wife). (Cf. *li-su*, pertaining to husband's later wife).

pāu, Ad. Rf. (Child talk) Mother's (elder or younger) brother.

pāju, Ad. Rf. Mother's (elder or younger) brother.

pāju, Ad. Father's (elder or younger) sister's husband. (Rf. *nini-pāju*).

pāju khalaa, Rf. (khalaka-) Mother's (elder or younger) brother's wife's kin.

pāju-bajee, Rf. 1. Mother's mother. 2. Mother's mother's (elder or younger) brother's wife. 3. Father's mother's (elder or younger) brother's wife. (Cf. Ad. bajee).

pāju-bājyā, Rf. 1. Father's mother's (elder or younger) brother. 2. Mother's mother's (elder or younger) brother. (Cf. Ad. *bājyā*).

- pāe-aji, Rf. Grandmother's brother's wife (includes FaMoElBrWi; FaMoYrBrWi; MoMoElBrWi; and MoMoYrBrWi). (Cf. Ad. aji, pāe-ji).
- pāe-ji, Ad. Grandmother's brother's wife (includes FaMoElBrWi; FaMoYrBrWi; MoMoElBrWi; and MoMoYrBrWi). (Cf. Rf. tapāā-aji, pāe-aji). (Syn pāju-bajee).
- piili-māeli, Rf. (var. pijili, Collective term used only with reference to a set of kin) Husband's (elder and younger) brothers' wives.
- phukii, Rf. (phukija-) Lineage, male kin descended from a common ancestor.
- phukii-bākā, Rf. Relatives.
- phukii-bākae, Rf. 1. Father's (elder and younger) brothers and their sons (collective term).
2. Relatives.
- bajee, Ad. Rf. (Srt.) Grandmother (includes FaMo and MoMo).
- bajee-māā, Ad. Rf. (Jyp.) but Rf. only (Srt.) Grandmother (includes FaMo and MoMo). (Cf. Ad. (Srt.) bajee).
- babā, Ad. Rf. (Child talk) Father.
- bāu, Rf. 1. Younger brother. (Cf. Ad. kijā). 2. Any younger boy.
- bāāju, Rf. (Gbj. Srt.) Husband's father. (Cf. Ad. bwā) (Cf. Jyp. sasaa-bwā).
- bājyā, 1. (Ad. Rf.) Grandfather (includes FaFa and MoFa). 2. (Ad. only) Male ancestor of the third ascending generation. (Cf. Rf. ghāe ghāe bājyā, tapāā bājyā).
- bu, Ad. Fr. Father. (Syn. bwā, bāā, abu).
- bau, Rf. Father. (Ad. bāā, bwā, abu).
- bwā, 1. (Ad. Rf.) Father. 2. (Ad. only) Husband's father.
- bwā-ju, Rf. A mother who has eloped with a paramour. (Ad. avoided). (Cf. māā-ju, A father whose wife has eloped with a paramour).

bhāṇ-macā, Ad. Rf. (var. of bhalimacā).

bhāṇ-macā, Rf. Bride.

bhāṇ-macā-mae-ju, Rf. (Resp.) Bride.

bhata, Rf. Husband's kin (Occurs with various other kin terms: keḥ-bhata, Rf. Husband's younger sister (Cf. Ad. keḥ); darā-bhata, Rf. Husband's elder brother (Cf. Ad. dāju); dāju-bhata, Rf. Husband's elder brother (Cf. Ad. dāju); tatā-bhata, Rf. Husband's elder sister (Cf. Ad. tatā); tāā-bhata, Rf. Husband's elder sister (Cf. Ad. tatā); māā-bhata, Rf. Husband's mother (Cf. Ad. māā). Also Cf. (Gbj.) pii-bhata, Elder brother's wife).

bhali-macā, Ad. Rf. (Resp., var. bhāṇ-macā) Son's wife.

bhāāta, Rf. Husband. (Ad. avoided by used of circumlocutions such as Rām-yā bau, Ram's father).

bhinā-macā, Rf. Sister's child (includes ElSiSo; YrSiSo; ElSiDa; YrSiDa) (Cf. Ad. bhincā).

bhincā, Ad. Rf. Sister's child (includes ElSiSo; YrSiSo; ElSiDa; YrSiDa).

bhincā jilājāḥ, Rf. (jilājana-) (Elder or younger) sister's daughter's husband. (Cf. Ad. jicā bhāju).

bhincā bhāju, Rf. (Resp.) Elder sister's son. (Cf. Ad. bhincā).

bhincā bhau, Rf. Father's (elder or younger) sister's son's wife. (Cf. Ad. bhau-macā).

bhincā maeju, Rf. (Resp.) Younger sister's daughter. (Cf. Ad. bhincā).

bhau, Rf. 1. Son's wife. 2. Younger brother's wife. (Cf. Ad. bhau-macā)

bhwata, Rf. (var. of bhata).

bhwata, Rf. (Jyp.) Elder brother's wife. (Cf. Srt. tatāā-ju; Gbj. pii-bhata).

bhwii, Rf. Descendent of the sixth descending generation (including SoSoSoSoSoSo; DaDaDaDaDaDa, etc. for all sixty-four kin relations). (No. Ad.).

macā-yā bau, Ad. (Avoidance term) Husband.

macā-yā māā, Ad. (māma-, Avoidance term) Wife.

mamā, Ad. Rf. (Child talk) Mother

male, Ad. Rf. (Gbj.) Mother's brother's wife.

male-ju, Ad. Rf. (var. mal-ju) Mother's (elder or younger) brother's wife. (Ktm. male).

mal-ju, Ad, Rf. (var. of male-ju).

māā, Ad. Rf. (māma-) Mother.

māā-cā, Rf. (Child talk, term of affection) Mother.
(Cf. Ad. māā).

māā-ju, Rf. A father whose wife has eloped with another man. (Cf. Ad. bau, bāā, abu).

māā-bhata, Rf. (Var. māā-bhwata) Husband's mother.
(Cf. Jyp. sasaa-māā).

māmā, Ad. Rf. (Jyp.) Father's younger brother's wife.
(Cf. Gbj. Srt. kākī, kākī-māā).

māmā, Ad. Rf. (Child talk) Mother.

māmā-cā, Ad. Rf. (Child talk) Mother. (Cf. Rf. māmā).

mai, Ad. Rf. (Jyp. Gbj.) 1. Younger sister (Child talk).
2. Any young girl. (Cf. Srt. maiyā).

maiya, Ad. Rf. (Srt.) 1. Younger sister (Child talk).
2. Any young girl. (Cf. Jyp. Gbj. mai).

mhyāe, Ad. Rf. (mhyāca-) Daughter.

mhyāe-cā, Ad. Rf. Sibling's daughter (including ElBrDa; YrBrDa; ElSiDa; YrSiDa).

mhyāe-chae, Rf. Daughter's child (including DaSo; DaDa). (Cf. Ad. chae).

mhyāe jilājāa, Rf. (jilājana-) Daughter's husband.
(Cf. Ad. jicā-bhāju).

mhyāe mae-ju, Rf. (Resp.) Daughter. (Ad. mhyāe).

lakhā-pau, Rf. Wife's child by a former husband. (Ad. Avoided). (Ktm. lakhāpā).

lakhā-pau-macā, Rf. Wife's child by a former husband. (Ad. Avoided). (Ktm. lakhāpā-macā).

lāhi, Rf. (Collective term) Blood relatives. (Lit. one's flesh and blood).

li-thu, Rf. Husband's second wife, co-wife.

li-thu nhe-thu. Rf. General term for wife and co-wife (Syn. nhe-thu li-thu) (Ad. avoided).

li-su, Rf. Pertaining to one's husband's second wife or co-wife. (Occurs with other kin terms: lisu-kāe, Rf. Hu second WiSo; lisu-mhyāe, Rf. (mhyāca-) Hu second WiDa; lisu-macā, Rf. Hu second WiCh).

wii, Rf. Descendant of the fourth descending generation (including SoSoSoSo; DaDaDaDa; SoSoSoDa; DaDaDaSo; etc. for all sixteen kin of the fourth generation).

samilcā, Rf. Female chaperone of the same age as the bride who accompanies the bride to the groom's house and stays with her for the first few days after the wedding.

samji, Rf. 1. Daughter's husband's Parent (including DaHuMo and DaHuFa). 2. Son's wife's parent (including SoWiMo and SoWiFa). (Ad. avoided).

samji khalaa, Rf. (khalaka-) 1. Son's wife's family. 2. Daughter's husband's family.

sasaa, Rf. (sasala-) Pertaining to the in-laws, one's affines, the family of one's spouse.

sasaa-aji, Rf. Wife's grandmother (including WiFaMo and WiMoMo) (Cf. Ad. aji).

sasaa-kakā, Rf. (Srt. Gbj.) Wife's father's younger brother. (Cf. Jyp. sasaa-ciri-bwā).

sasaa-kāki, Rf. (Srt. Gbj.) Wife's father's younger brother's wife. (Cf. Ad. kāki). (Cf. Jyp. sasaa māmā, Rf. (Ad. māmā)).

sasaa-kāki-māā, Rf. (var. sasaa-kāki) Wife's father's younger brother's wife.

sasaa-kāki-māā, Rf. (var. sasaa-kāki, Srt. Gbj.) Wife's father's younger brother's wife. (Cf. Ad. kāki, kāki-māā) (Cf. Jyp. sasaa māā).

sasaa-kāe-cā, Rf. X. Spouse's father's younger brother's son. (Includes HuFaYrBrSo and WiFaYrBrSo). (Cf. Ad. kāe-cā).

sasaa-kijā, Rf. Wife's younger brother. (Cf. Ad. kijā). (Cf. kijā-bhata, Rf. Husband's younger brother).

sasaa-kehe, Rf. Wife's younger sister. (Cf. Ad. kehe).

sasaa khalaa, Rf. (khalaka-) 1. (Gbj. Srt. Jyp.) Wife's father's family. 2. (Jyp. only) Husband's father's family.

sasaa ciri-bwā, Rf. (Jyp.) 1. Husband's father's younger brother. (Cf. Ad. bwā). (Cf. Srt. Gbj. sasaa kakā). 2. Wife's Father's younger brother. (Cf. Ad. ciri-bwā). (Cf. Srt. Gbj. sasaa kakā).

sasaa taa-māā, Rf. (māā-) 1. (Srt. Gbj.) Husband's father's elder brother's wife. (Cf. Ad. māā). 2. (Srt. Gbj.) Wife's father's elder brother's wife. (Ad. taa-māā). 3. (Jyp.) Spouse's grandmother (including WiFaMo; WiMoMo; HuFaMo; and HuMoMo). (Cf. Ad. māā).

sasaa tatā, Rf. Wife's elder sister. (Cf. Ad. tatā) (Cf. tāā-bhata, HuElSi; tatā-bhata, HuElSi).

sasaa dā, Ad. Wife's elder brother. (Cf. Rf. sasaa-dāju).

sasaa dāju, Rf. Wife's elder brother. (Cf. Ad. dāju).

sasaa pāju, Rf. Spouse's mother's brother (including HuMoYrBr; HuMoElBr; WiMoElBr; and WiMoYrBr). (Cf. Ad. pāju).

sasaa bu, Rf. Wife's father. (Cf. Ad. bwā, bāā, abu).

sasaa bājyā, Rf. Wife's grandfather (includes WiFaFa and WiMoFa). (Cf. Ad. bājyā).

sasaa bau, Rf. 1. Wife's father. 2. (Jyp.) Husband's father. (Cf. Ad. bau).

sasaa bwā, Rf. 1. Wife's father. 2. (Jyp.) Husband's father (Cf. Gbj. Srt. bāāju). (Cf. Ad. bwā).

sasaa male-ju, Rf. (var. sasaa malju) Spouse's mother's brother's wife (including WiMoYrBrWi; WiMoElBrWi; HuMoYrBrWi; and HuMoElBrWi). (Cf. Ad. malju).

sasaa māā, Rf. (māma-) 1. Wife's mother. 2. (Jyp.) Husband's mother (Cf. Gbj. Srt. māju). (Cf. Ad. māā).

sasaa māmā, Rf. Spouse's father's younger brother's wife (including WiFaYrBrWi and HuFaYrBrWi). (Cf. Ad. māmā).

sasaa mayāe-cā, Rf. Spouse's father's younger brother's daughter (including HuFaYrBrDa; and WiFaYrBrDa). (cf. Ad. mhyāe-cā).

syāā-, Rf. A prefix used to indicate a blood relative. (Occurs with a variety of other kin terms: syāā-kijā, Rf. A younger brother consanguinally related: syāā-dāju, Rf. An older brother related by blood; syāā-kehe, Rf. A younger sister related by blood; syāā-tatā, Rf. An older sister related by blood; syāā-taa-kehe, Rf. Collective term including brothers and sisters both older and younger. This term also includes all the cousins.

REFERENCES

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FOOTNOTES

1. The author wishes to express his gratitude to Austin Hale for writing this paper based upon the author's notes and for typing two drafts of the paper.



book department

Lionel Caplan. Administration and Politics in a Nepalese Town. (London, Oxford University Press: 1975). p. xiv, 240, xxvi.

This is Lionel Caplan's second major contribution to Nepalese Studies. His first book on Nepal, Land and Social Change in East Nepal: A Study of Hindu-Tribal Relations (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul; Berkeley, University of California Press: 1970), proved to be a thought-provoking and challenging book. The title and preface of the present work hold out equal promise.

Administration and Politics is a transition book. Not only has Caplan shifted his area of interest from east Nepal to west Nepal. He has also made a very pronounced shift in his approach. The present study is by no means limited to the typical ambience of the social anthropologist. Caplan says of this study, 'This book describes and analyses the process by which [non-traditional influences] have impinged on institutions and social relationships within a small town, and affected the links between townspeople and villagers.' (p.5). The town he has opted to study is 'Belaspur Bazaar', situated in the south-central part of 'Belaspur' district, of which it is the administrative capital and market centre. Both by his selection of a district administrative centre for his field research and his proposal to study the process of change along with the affect of that process on the linkage between townspeople and villagers, Caplan has necessarily entered into a study of the history of 'Belaspur' as well as into contemporary politics. As a result, we have in Administration and Politics an amalgam of sociology, history, political science, and economics. The prospect is challenging indeed, as Caplan himself was clearly aware when he wrote, 'In view of the virtual absence of sociological studies of administrative centres, this book, willy-nilly, breaks new ground.' (p. 8).

Caplan's Administration and Politics is not just a pioneering attempt to apply the techniques of observation and scientific analysis to the complex relationships that emerge in an administrative centre, however small. The book also reflects the current ferment in the world of sociology/social anthropology that is part of the social scientists' efforts to prove their relevance in a world that has become increasingly oriented towards economic development. Whether we like

it or not, all social scientists are under increasing pressure to express their findings in terms that have economic and political significance if they would penetrate the closed circle of economic-political thought that now governs the development process throughout the third world. If Caplan appears to have taken on more than any one man could possibly handle with skill, he is to be commended for perceiving and studying an area that is of vital significance in the development context of Nepal.

Before making a formal criticism of Caplan's book, it is important to me to say that I learned a great deal from Administration and Politics. Any criticism that I make later in this review must be seen against this background. The book is ambitious in its intents, challenging in its propositions, and fascinating in the detailed spelling out of the present structures of 'Belaspur'. To say less than this would be to do Caplan an injustice. However, in addition to being instructed and entertained, one must also be critical.

Caplan divides his work into three parts. The first deals with the recent background of 'Belaspur', the district capital. The second discusses the occupations of the townsmen in this district capital. And the third presents an analysis of the relations between townsmen and villagers. Any discussion of Caplan's Administration and Politics must focus on these three aspects of his work as well as his overall attempt to analyze the process of change.

Caplan is at his strongest when he is dealing with the direct observation techniques of the social anthropologist. His biographies of the leading characters in the process of change are invaluable. So also are his descriptions of the social components of the administrative centre and its environs. In this area he is on firm ground, and he shows it both in his comment and style.

I personally deplore Caplan's use of pseudonyms for both the place names and the characters who play a role in the process of change. I recognize, of course, the social anthropologist's desire to protect his sources. I feel rather strongly, however, that if a study of this nature is to have relevance, it must be open to verification. Anthropologists may feel at home in a world that is not directly related to verifiable data. Other social scientists do not. Undoubtedly

there is a methodological problem here, but the use of pseudonyms seems inadequate if the book is to have meaning beyond a narrow circle of academics. Of its nature, relevance requires that we be able to relate the proposed analysis to our own understanding of the problems of a particular area and its relationships with the development region as a whole. As it stands, it is difficult to see how Administration and Politics can serve as an adequate base-line against which future change can be measured. This has its importance, since many of the political structures Caplan describes have already undergone radical change, and, in this sense, the book was dated before it was even off the press.

If Caplan is on firm ground in his sociological description of 'Belaspur', in his historical description he is not. He is not an historian, and it shows. The historical background is inadequate. Built for the most part on oral history, it suffers from the defects common to oral history anywhere. The point of view is intensely localized and isolated from the main currents of Nepalese history. Oral history is an invaluable tool for the historian, but it must always be counter-balanced by a strong understanding of recorded history. There is nothing in Caplan's text or sources to indicate that he had made such an effort to achieve balance. The result is a distorted view of 'Belaspur' in its historical context. While a fair case could be made in favour of Caplan's description of the arbitrary use of the pajani and district authority during the Rana period (cf. pp. 33-38), his description of land tenure and landownership is totally inadequate to support the edifice he builds on it. I would go even further in my criticism. I think Caplan's description of lower-level appointments without entering into the far more significant flow of authority throughout the administrative district. For me, this raises two questions that require answers. First, is it possible to describe an administrative centre without describing in some detail the district of which it is the centre? Secondly, how are we to judge the effects of the process of change unless we have a more firm appreciation of the value-structure of society as it existed before the process of change was initiated.

To the general reader, my comments on Caplan's Administration and Politics on the basis of the historical foundations of his study may seem overly critical. However, I think they are justified if we look beyond the immediate contents of the book to the

intent and the methodology. If social anthropologists intend to deal with topics such as this one, we should be able to expect a solid foundation in social and economic history. Otherwise, their search for relevance is frustrated before they begin.

I am no more enthusiastic over Caplan's analysis of contemporary politics in 'Belaspur' than I have been of the historical foundations on which he has built his study. In part, this is true because there is a causal relationship between the history of the area and its current political struggles. But my criticism goes a bit further than that. In the third part of his book, Caplan has focussed on the rivalry between the bazaariyas of 'Belaspur' and the villagers of near-by 'Bukha' village as the focal point of his political analysis. After reading and re-reading his discussion of the interplay of current politics in the context of this 'Bukha'-'Belaspur' rivalry, I remain unconvinced that Caplan's laboured explanation of the influence of kinship and friendship obligations on politics has added in any significant way to our understanding of the situation. While I am sure the rivalry he describes does in fact exist, I find his explanation of the origins and meaning of that rivalry unsatisfying and therefore unconvincing. In short, his analysis remains description. I am sure that sociologists and social anthropologists can contribute in a major way to our understanding of politics and the political process in developing areas. Caplan, however, does not seem to have made that contribution. Perhaps Caplan was himself aware of this when he took pains to point out that this study was a 'ground-breaking' effort. The suggestion that Caplan has not succeeded in demonstrating the contribution the social anthropologist can make to our understanding of political events in such a development centre as 'Belaspur', however, should not discourage us. The story is there to be told, and Caplan has achieved a great deal merely by pointing it out.

The reader will not be surprised, in view of my criticisms so far, if I say that in my opinion Caplan has failed in his basic intention in Administration and Politics ('This book describes and analyses the process by which non-traditional influences have impinged on institutions and social relationships within a small town, and affected the links between townspeople and villagers.') In certain areas he has given very adequate descriptions of the changes that have taken place in 'Belaspur'. In many areas, his descriptions

are excellent. But he has not given us, as he intended, an analysis of the process. Caplan describes factors of change which can be accepted as meaningful and pertinent. He has not, however, demonstrated that they are either exclusive or causative.

Am I demanding too much of Caplan? Of course I am. Several mitigating factors should be mentioned. Communications between Nepali scholars and foreign scholars are terribly unsatisfactory. Caplan simply did not have access during the period when he was writing to material that was readily available in Nepal and which could have contributed much to his study. It is difficult to see how he could be blamed for this inadequacy of communications, although lack of access to such data has certainly affected the quality of his work. A second mitigating factor should also be mentioned. Caplan's book was not addressed to a Nepali audience. It was inevitable that a Nepali would read and interpret Caplan's comments far more critically and from a much different point of view than would a group of his peers in other lands. There is still a third mitigating factor. I have held Caplan to a rather strict accounting for not achieving success in a study in which I think success would have eluded any individual effort. Though the area studied ('Belaspur') was small, the kind of study that Caplan intended would seem to have required the collaboration of a team of social scientists. Even the small world of 'Belaspur' is too complex to yield its meaning to a single analyst.

But let us keep my criticisms in context. In the area of his expertise, Caplan has done us all a great service. Even if he failed largely to achieve his wider purposes, what he has given us is good, solid material, which I for one am grateful to have at my disposal. Nor do I think he was wrong in attempting something that was a little larger than he could have hoped to achieve. Beginnings have to be made, and often the pioneer, by merely showing a route, can render a service of incalculable value.

Ludwig F. Stiller, S.J.

J. Gabriel Campbell, Saints and Householders: A Study of Hindu Ritual and Myth among the Kangra Rajputs, Bibliotheca Himalayica, Series 3, Vol. 6, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, Kathmandu, 1976, 175 pages.

This book is a valuable contribution to the ethnographic material on the religious life of the Rajputs in the Kangra valley of North India. The author analyses the symbols, rituals, beliefs, and myths of this area using the structural approach of Levi-Strauss and Dumont. His aim is to elucidate the conceptual framework of the believer by examining the structures that underlie the religious system. Such an approach is particularly useful in the Indian context. It is often assumed that the contradictions of a particular religious complex and the inconsistencies between conceptual models and performed rituals are the result of two opposing traditions; a sanskritic one and a local popular one. Campbell shows by his analysis that this need not be the case. The contradictions are instead a basic part of the structure, expressed and resolved for the believer through ritual and myth. By bracketing the psychological, economic, and political factors and analysing the symbols contained in Kangra ritual and myth on their own terms, certain structural principles emerge.

Campbell finds a basic opposition between samsara, the cyclical course of earthly life, and moksa, the renunciation of that cycle. Hindu religion has two goals: to provide a means of living within the conditions of samsara and to provide a way of breaking out of this cycle. These goals are in essence contradictory. They are symbolized in the Kangra context respectively by the householder and the saint. When applied to the ethnographic material on life rituals and myths, some interesting patterns of meaning emerge. Life cycle rituals, samsaras, serve two purposes: they effect the transition between stages in the life cycle and resolve ritually, mythically, the contradiction between the conflicting goals of saint and householder.

In the section on rituals, the author presents both the ideal ritual models drawn from literary sources and a detailed account of Kangra ritual. He analyses the premarriage, marriage, and death rituals both in terms of this contradiction and in relation to kin and social relationships. Campbell notes that many of the prescribed pre-marriage rituals are not practised by the Rajputs or are condensed and incorporated into later rituals. Interesting questions arise as to why this discrepancy and variation occurs and what its implication might be. One wishes that the author had dealt more fully with this aspect of the rituals. The material in this section is quite extensive; it is well-organized and clearly analysed. and he supplements

his own data with many references from other studies of ritual in the Punjab. He includes an appendix comparing the rituals of Kangra to those in the nearby villages of Rampur, Bharmaur, and Sirkanda.

The analysis of myth is the most excellent portion of the book. In this section, the author shows how the basic structural themes and basic contradictions revealed in the analysis of the samsaras are represented in local myths of the Kangra Rajputs. He chooses three myths: the Gugga myth, the Baba Deot Sidh myth, and the Baba Balak Rupri myth. These myths are all about saints, dieties who are believed to have a human origin. These myths not only reveal basic oppositions but also present mediating categories that 'bridge' the categories in the opposition by resolving them on a religious plane. The myths express the saint/householder opposition as celibacy/ intercourse: fertility/ sterility and attempt to resolve the conflict between paternity and maternity reflected in the social sphere. The analysis in this section would be an excellent model for comparative analysis of similar myths in other cultural areas.

The author concludes with a brief discussion of change within structures using the example of a local sect, the Radha Soamis. He finds that change in the religious sphere tends to be replacive; "New" practices and values can be seen as 'structural transformations' of the old." Although he substantiates this with several examples from marriage and death rituals, this issue is dealt with in the same depth or detail that characterizes his structural analysis. The reviewer feels this section would be more useful and less of an afterthought if change in Kangra ritual and myth had been more extensively discussed and more ethnographic examples presented.

The book provides a very useful framework for the study of rural Hinduism that can be applied to comparative data elsewhere in South Asia. The ethnographic material on the Kangra Rajputs will be valuable for scholars of South Asia and the Himalayas. The author states in his introduction that the book was first completed in 1971. He states in the introduction that "the way I went about analysing data in this book is not necessarily the way I would do it now." Although the book and its methodology stands on its own as an important study of religious life, the reviewer regrets that the author did not discuss these comments more

fully in the introduction or in the conclusion. As the work plays a central part in the development of Campbell's thought, it would be of interest to the reader to know the author's current opinions of the study.

Augusta Molnar

Book Review

NEPAL: AN ASSERTIVE MONARCHY. Editor: S. D. Muni
Chetana Publications, New Delhi, 1977. pp. 251

In a macrocosmic world, one is apt to wonder as to the utility of a serious study of a country like Nepal in terms of either the significance of its historical evolution or its contemporary relevance. Why should an outsider bother about Nepal either historically or contemporaneously when, speaking roughly, she has not given birth to any great dramatic cultural or social movements that arouse and engage large masses of people? In a certain sense, Nepal has remained inadequately understood because she has tended to fall outside the focus of attention of traditional historians or comparatively misunderstood because she has been served sometimes by unsympathetic historians. This indifference or antipathy of historians, it should be said in fairness, has only been matched by the allergy of the Nepalese administration generally to the prying claims of research. Even today Nepal occupies an insignificant place in the columns of reputed commentators of the world scene who have almost entirely concentrated their attention on events and developments in powerful countries. She is approached if at all not on her own but to subserve the purposes of these countries. The picture of value in human experience that emerges in these circumstances is less than fair because in such major countries power seems to outpace grace, gentleness, charity and beauty. For this reason, the image that we have of the world in historical and contemporary perspective is an image that is more aggressive than peaceful, more power-loving than graceful and, in a word, more masculine than feminine. The weaker countries, like the weaker sex, suffer a great deal out of this bias in favour of power to the loss of the humanity as a whole.

On the other hand, a leading characteristic of the present epoch is the emergence of Asian and African countries as actors on the international scene. In this context, what are we to do with the bewildering variety of political experiments that variegates the third world landscape? All these countries and specially those under the British tutelage had started their new life with parliamentary democracy as their model. Yet among the major countries of Asia China has gone communist after a painful protracted struggle and India has experienced an emergency in peace time and is yet to develop into a full-fledged two-party system. In Burma parliamentary democracy has uncertainly given way to President Ne Win's Burmese way to socialism. Pakistan's course from parliamentary through military to democratic government has been far from smooth. In Africa shifting military governments and even new concepts such as 'ujima' propounded as a more appropriate ideal by statesmen like President Nyerere underscore the fluidity of the situation in relation to political ideologies. After a brief spell of about a decade with parliamentary democracy Nepal herself has been for the last seventeen years on the Panchayat course. In this complex situation political scientists are faced with a challenge of not only analyzing why these countries have severally moved away from the norms of parliamentary democracy but also sifting meticulously how many of these experiments are expressions of man's frequent but unfortunate aberrations toward or into tyranny and how many of them just gropings in the twilight for social systems which seek to tread the straight and narrow path between tyranny and anarchy. Political scientists are, however, handicapped in their objectivity in several ways. In the third world countries in particular, their education itself owes to an enormous advantage of privilege based on caste, class, wealth, family or even nation. They cannot develop vital creative contact with the people both because of the books they read and because of the association they cultivate. But the order of theory can be imposed on the chaos of the third world political practice only through the objectivity of political scientists.

To do this, we must be careful to approach Nepal in a proper and realistic framework of attitude. We should not expect her to be able to influence events abroad. We are no prophets to deliver a political or spiritual message. We have too limited resources to influence the world materially also. The proper

question to be asked about Nepal is whether her intense feelings and deep urges are such as to be consistent with the nobler experience of the rest of mankind and meaningful to them in a sort of sympathy and whether her social and cultural institutions - like monarchy, Buddhism, Hinduism, for example, - operate practically in the interest of ensuring freedom, justice, order and welfare to her people. While Nepal's own private feelings, anguishes and urges, like those of many other smaller countries, cannot influence events abroad in any direct sense, they are perhaps important, nevertheless, to mankind to contribute to the restoration of a balance in what I have called above, for want of a better expression, a loudly masculine image of the world. It is, therefore, a matter of satisfaction that interest has perceptibly grown of late in a serious study of Nepal as a subject of significant political and historical experience among academic circles. This interest, it may be noted, is a function both of an increased intensity that we have imparted since the Revolution of 1950 to our own sense of feeling, thinking and living, on one hand, and, of the broader and deeper commitment of the more sensitive of the international community to modify the spectacles that distort the current view, on the other.

Viewed in this perspective, the book under review, namely, Nepal: An Assertive Monarchy is a microcosm. It is not concerned with the total experience of Nepalese history and culture, nor even with the totality of King Mahendra's regime. It is concerned only with the political part of his regime, both internal and external, and with the theoretical and practical implications underlying his political experiment of the Panchayat system. So far as the book is concerned, King Mahendra's theory and practice in this field is the epitome of Nepal. This theme, almost alone, runs common through the lively diversity of approach reflected in the writings of the dozen contributors to the volume, who are both national and foreign. And as the political process is after all a nation's sovereign process which, to be effective, disciplines and guides itself, refusing to accept anything above and extraneous to it and at the same time shapes, determines and even dictates all other social and cultural processes, the focus is well chosen. The regime's theoretical claims are taken seriously whether they derive directly from King Mahendra's own speeches or from official attempts at what purports to be a systematic exposition of his

Panchayat political philosophy such as The Panchayat: A Planned Democracy among others.

The book is divided into two parts and Dr. Muni sets the tone with his analytical introductory chapters to both. His central theme is the relationship between tradition and modernity in the zigzag course of the political modernization of Nepal. In analyzing this relationship he sees dialectics at work. His analysis is marked with insight at places particularly when he traces Nepal's political evolution through the fifties and sixties as an outcome of contradictions between tradition and modernity on one hand and those within tradition and within modernity on the other. He has equated the evolution of political institutions with that of the political elite consisting of the King, the Ranas and what he calls the hardcore and peripheral modernizing political elite. When he says peripheral elite he has in mind leaders who were attached to various mushroom political parties other than the Nepali Congress, the Communist Party and the Gorkha Parishad and who, on the whole, fought shy of elections in the politics of the fifties. He seems in addition to include implicitly in that category the bureaucrats, especially in the upper echelons of administration, who have been through the process of modern education. These groups, though possessed of modernizing potential, threw their weight, according to Dr. Muni, wholly with the King and allowed themselves to be used for his political purpose. These leaders are also the target of attack in the fourth chapter called Shifting Elite Loyalties by Dr. L.S. Baral who, however, seems to refuse to admit Gorkha Parishad leadership into the hardcore elite in Dr. Muni's sense. Dr. Baral sees the Nepalese political landscape in terms of black and white; and in the comfortable security of the ivory tower where discretion does not need to be the better part of valour he is not fair to a large number of former congressmen who have chosen to work from within the system for their own reasons or to the hardcore communists who, though non-Congress, can hardly be said to have shifting loyalties. As the basic political struggle in Nepal is for a larger freedom through practical political and economic development which promotes justice, honour and welfare to the people, the forces that strive towards this end in their own separate ways have become broadly polarized into 'nationalists', 'democrats' and 'communists'. In this situation the so-called peripheral group seems to have received a treatment out of

proportion to its political significance. The interesting interlude within the Panchayat system of the Graduate constituency and its two lively elections has been re-captured with considerable vividness and even brilliance in Dr. Lok Raj Baral's chapter. On the basis of detailed analysis of the course of elections and the crystallization of the candidates' manifestoes, Dr. Baral has read considerable scope for opposition politics in the Graduate constituency. As an opposition party in liberal societies forms an institutionalized part of the wider official establishment, so the Graduate constituency appeared for a time as a deliberate device designed to build into the Panchayat polity an institutionalized informed opposition so essential for any creative modern political development. However, with the Panchayat ethos of indirect election and no opposition the Graduate constituency with its potential for continuous and even radical opposition because of provision in it for direct nation-wide election in contrast to the elections to other constituencies was probably too far out of step, almost an anomaly, to be allowed time and experience to be integrated with the system itself. The opposition political role of students in developing countries is a familiar phenomenon and has been, generally, of considerable importance. Nepal is no exception. This is the subject of Dr. Chauhan's chapter in which he relates the political activities of students to the wider movement. As he writes from direct knowledge the picture is lively though not always balanced. If one were to accept the broad sweep of his definition of anti-Indianism, a large number of genuine Nepalese nationalists would come under the anti-Indian category. Mr. Shaha, in his Crises of Political Development, has brought his deep political understanding and long practical experience to bear on the interpretation of political development in Nepal in the light of such concepts of political science as identity, legitimacy, participation, etc. Though these concepts he dwells on are not new, he does add to our knowledge by writing with the clarity of one who is directly involved. He seems to suggest that as these concepts embody man's valuable actual political experience through the ages and across nations, Nepalese statesmen would do well to keep them in mind as relevant to their own purpose and guidance. Dr. Dhungel's essay on District Development Administration, though apparently out of step with the subjects of other chapters, is necessary as an illustration of Panchayat politics in practice in relation to development administration. The crux

of the problem, as the author points out, is reconciliation between three essential functions of the district administration. One such function is what is called the routine administration of looking after law and order and the collection of revenue in the district. As development can only flourish on a firm base of law and order and on an efficient collection of revenue, down-grading of the routine administration in the name of development beyond a point, as has become the fashion now-a-days, is perhaps mis-placed. Another essential function of the district administration is to promote local self-government and in the Panchayat system so loudly committed to decentralization it is more than a routine responsibility. Now, given the premise that modern administration must be more than routine in being clearly geared towards development, the relationship between the district administration as an agent of the national government and the local Panchayat as an institution to set the tone and temper of politics and development in the district has been for years a subject of constant strain. Thirdly, there is the question of co-ordination of the district administration with the various district units of the Central Departments. Dr. Dhungel has pointed out many lacunae in co-ordination that still exist in practice in spite of many innovations and reforms made from time to time and, for this reason, co-ordination has been less than satisfactory. The new district administration plan which is in operation was apparently prepared with these lacunae in mind and with a view to meeting them.

Mr. Mathur's concern in the volume, however, is of an entirely different kind. He picks up the apologies made on behalf of the Panchayat system, particularly The Panchayat: A Planned Democracy. The title of the essay itself, Intellectual Foundations of Monocracy, seems deliberately designed as a response to that particular treatise and the claim it makes. Although King Mahendra's own speeches as well as other apologies are quoted also, the principal point of attack is the argument advanced in The Panchayat. He pooh-poohs the very interpretation of individual-state relations, state-religion relations, the Dharma, Hinduism, Panchayat and monarchy as outlined in the said treatise and concludes with as much emotion as reason that the Panchayat philosophy is unsatisfactory as a serious intellectual discipline. Summing up, he says, "The case for the King's monocracy in Nepal, in ultimate analysis, does not rest on special features

of philosophical, sociological or historical traditions of Nepal, but is mainly founded upon the weaknesses of the political parties in general during 1950-60 and the failure of the major democracy-oriented political party viz Nepali Congress, in particular, to legitimize and institutionalize parliamentary form of government during the brief spell of its unquestioned political dominance in 1950-60." A careful analysis of the meaning or lack of meaning behind this sentence alone is enough to show that if the authors of the Panchayat were disturbingly insensitive to the claims of freedom and civil liberties and did not think through when they quoted a plethora of Hindu Scriptures and analyzed the Panchayat system in terms of various basic political concepts and issues, Mr. Mathur himself has not thought through either when suggesting an alternative. What is that parliamentary form of government, one wonders, which can be legitimized and institutionalized, as he says, in a country like Nepal in the course of mere eighteen months? When he says that political parties were weak during 1950-60 he does not seem to realize that he is begging questions. Why were the political parties weak and what are the political, economic and even cultural forces and conditions in Nepal behind that weakness? According to him, the Nepali Congress had unquestioned dominance as a party during 1959-60 while the parties were weak in general during 1950-60. Is 1959-60 outside 1950-60? Mr. Mathur would have been more convincing if he had been careful not to let his conclusion outstrip the logic of his argument. Whether or not one believes that there is scope for improvement in the Panchayat system or even need for its replacement, it is clear that there is a case for a more profound analysis of the Nepalese dilemma than Mr. Mathur has supplied.

Part II of the book is clearly less controversial and even more satisfactory. This may be due to the fact that King Mahendra achieved a greater measure of success in foreign policy than in home policy and that this achievement has been more universally recognized as such. His major achievements on the home front were a reign of comparatively undisturbed peace for seventeen years and the introduction of the Panchayat system. But during this period he made an outstanding contribution to Nepal's foreign relations by literally bringing her on the map of the world. In this, he was no doubt assisted by many favourable factors. The Revolution itself of 1950 had opened the door for the introduction of the kind of foreign policy he pursued. All over Asia and Africa there was a favourable climate of

resurgent nationalism. Besides, he possessed remarkable native intelligence which enabled him to grasp the sense of Nepal's history and the fundamentals of international power alignments. He could distinguish between essentials and non-essentials in a general sense. Above all, he had a clear sense of Nepal's national interest. He realized the importance of Nepal's relations with India; and while he knew that these were difficult in the light of his own experience in 1961-62 he always kept the door for dialogue open. In spite of the charges made against him he was aware of the danger of playing off India against China or China against India-even if they played that game-because, he knew that at a point of crisis, while they could well look after themselves, Nepal could be overwhelmed. Though he was determined to do all he could to raise Nepal to the fullest possible international status through a policy of friendship with all, he was particularly reluctant to get entangled in any international conflict whether between India and China or between India and Pakistan. It was his success in maintaining a balanced relationship specially with India and China that paved the way for general international interest in Nepal including that of the superpowers. Different writers in the book do bring their own individual and national prejudices into their analysis and see room for criticism of certain individual aspects of King Mahendra's foreign policy. Dr. Leo Rose, for example, believes that Nepal has been too naive in building the Araniko Road without fully considering its security implications either for herself or for India. He probably sees in this development a drift towards what is called Finlandization in Western international parlance. This fear is shared by Mr. Kumar also perhaps for different reasons. Even recognizing the long-term security implications of the Road and the need for corresponding strategic adjustment both politically and technically, it is possible to maintain that the advantage even in the sense of security when what Dr. Rose calls a useless road is fully integrated into Nepal's national economy far outweighs the apparent disadvantage which only makes necessary some strategic adjustment at the moment. Such individual or national differences in perception are unavoidable; and to a Nepalese mind, a more balanced sense of security accruing from the potential of the Road for greater economic and trade development is an important factor for consideration. But taken as a whole the contributors have expressed general appreciation or understanding of King Mahendra's policy.

What is particularly agreeable about the book is the suggestion that Nepal's political experience is of sufficiently serious import to engage the attention of scholars in three countries. The central theme, as the title of the book suggests, is King Mahendra's assertive personality which is juxtaposed against liberalism which is the frame of reference for most writers if not all. There are occasions in the book when one feels the uneasy tension between the attraction that a writer betrays towards King Mahendra's assertive personality and his own convictions as a liberal. Behind the staying power of the Panchayat system which is already seventeen years old as compared with the ten years of parliamentary democracy there are, besides individual political ambitions and traditions geared to foster them, social and economic factors which need to be analyzed more fully and objectively than is done in the book not necessarily to justify but to explain the existing state of things.

When all is said, this is a serious book, at times perhaps provocative, but a book which deserves to be read seriously.

Y. N. Khanal

